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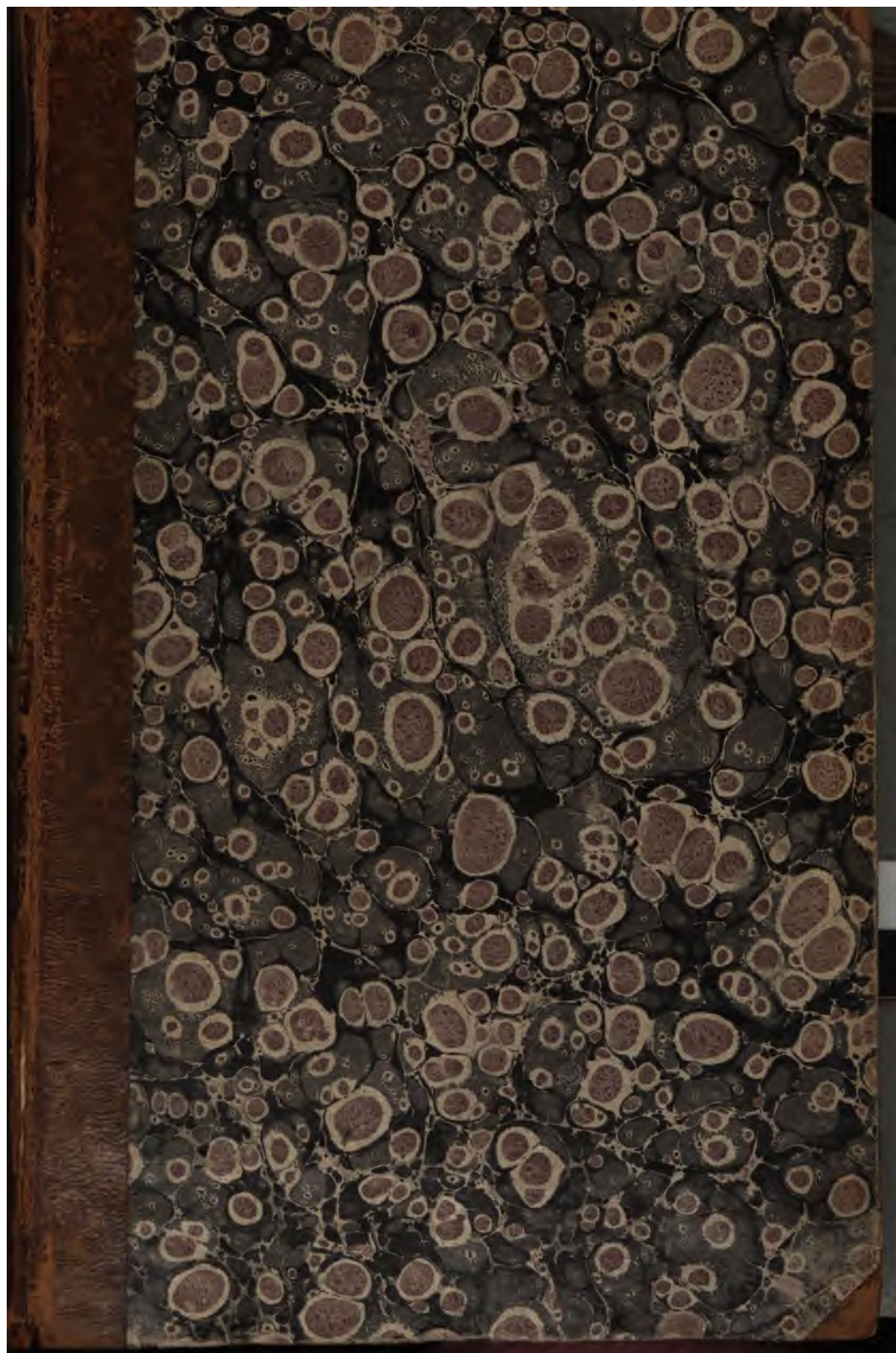
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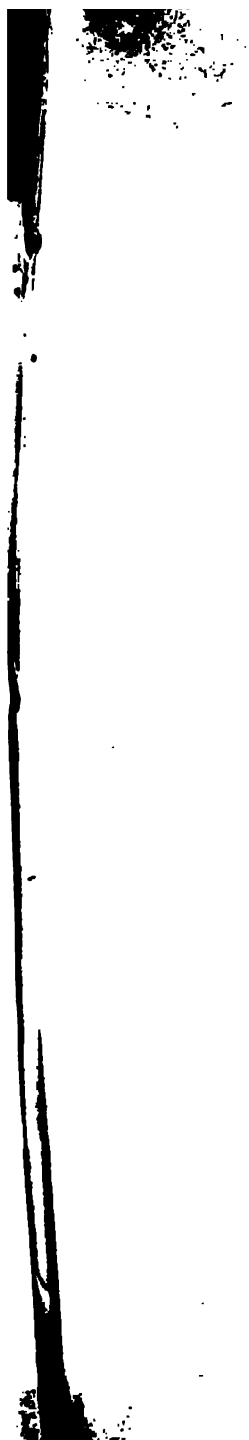
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THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
ANCIENT GREECE,
ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS;

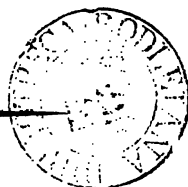
From the Earliest Accounts till the
Division of the Macedonian Empire in the East.

INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF
LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE FINE ARTS.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL. D. F. A. S.

Εν μὲν τούτῳ τῆς ἀπαντῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλα συμπλοκῆς καὶ παραθέσεως,
ἐτι δὲ ὁμοιοτήτος καὶ διαφορᾶς; μόνως ἂν τις ἐφίκοιτο καὶ διηγήσῃ
κατοπτρευσας, αἷμα καὶ τὸ χρησίμον καὶ τὸ τέρπνον ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας
λαβεῖν.
POLYBIUS, I. I. c. v.

VOL. I.



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T O T H E

K I N G.

S I R,

THE History of Greece exposes the dangerous turbulence of Democracy , and arraigns the despotism of Tyrants. By describing the incurable evils inherent in every form of Republican policy, it evinces the inestimable benefits, resulting to Liberty itself, from the lawful dominion of hereditary Kings, and the steady operation of well-regulated Monarchy. With singular propriety, therefore, the present Work may be respectfully offered to Your MAJESTY, as Sovereign of the freest nation upon earth; and *that* Sovereign, through whose discerning

munificence, the interest of those liberal arts, which distinguished and ennobled Greece beyond all other countries of antiquity, has been more successfully promoted in Your MAJESTY's dominions, than during any former period in the British annals. That Your MAJESTY may long reign the illustrious Guardian of public freedom, and the unrivalled Patron of useful learning, is the fervent prayer of

YOUR MAJESTY's

Most dutiful Subject and Servant.

L O N D O N,
Feb. 10, 1786.

JOHN GILLIES.

P R E F A C E.

THE following History commences with the infancy of Greece, and describes its gradual advancement towards civilization and power. But the main design of my Work is confined to the space of seven centuries, which elapsed from the settlement of the Ionians in Asia Minor till the establishment of the Macedonian empire in the East; during which memorable period, the arts and arms of the Greeks, conspiring to excite the admiration and terror of the ancient world, justly merit the attentive study of the present age, and posterity. In the general revolutions of their national confederacy, which, though always loose and imperfect, was never altogether dissolved, I have interwoven the description and principal transactions of each independent republic, however small or inconsiderable; and, by comparing authors seldom read, and not frequently consulted for historical materials, have endeavoured to trace the intricate series, and to explain the secret connexion, of seemingly detached events, in order to reduce the scattered members of Grecian story into one perpetual unbroken narrative; a design,

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THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAP. I.

View of the Progress of Civilization and Power in Greece, preceding the Trojan War. — History of that War. — Its Consequences.

IN the infancy of society, men are occupied with the business of the present hour, forgetful of the past, and careless of the future. They possess neither ability nor inclination to contemplate their public transactions in the impartial light of history, far less to treasure and to record them. Their recent victories over hostile tribes are celebrated in the artless song¹, or commemorated by the rude monument; but to preserve any regular series of connected events, is a design, which they enjoy not the means to execute, scarcely the capacity to comprehend.

CHAP.
I.
Introduction.

¹ Tacit. Annal. I. iv. c. 43.

2 THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

C H A P. Their simple and obscure adventures, which
I. thus pass unremembered by themselves, rarely excite the inquisitive curiosity of their more cultivated neighbours. In remote ages of the world, one people became an object of attention to another, only as they became considerable; for until the full maturity of Grecian refinement, the most polished nations of antiquity attempted not to investigate the nature and powers of man in the untutored efforts of savage life. The daring spirit, and fierce incursions, of the Barbarians in the east of Europe, excited terror and consternation among the more civilized and more effeminate inhabitants of Lesser Asia^a; but the luxurious pride of the latter never condescended to examine the origin and history of the people who were occasionally the object of their fears. The only circumstantial information concerning both the Asiatics and the Europeans, must be derived from the early historians of Greece; and when we reflect on the innumerable causes which conspire to bury in oblivion the exploits of rising communities, there is reason to wonder that we should know so much concerning the ancient state of that country, rather than to regret that our knowledge is imperfect.

It must be allowed, however, that our materials for the first portion of Grecian history, are rather

^a The Lydians, Phrygians, etc. History and Fable attest the early civilization, the wealth, and wickedness, of those nations. See particularly Herodotus, l. i. c. 93. et seq. and Strabo, l. xi. p. 532, et seq. and l. xii. & xiii. p. 572.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 3

copious than consistent¹. The subject, indeed, is such, as a very cautious writer would chuse entirely to avoid, since, whatever authorities he fol-

C H A P.

1.

¹ It is sufficient to read Thucydides's introduction to his admired history of the Peloponnesian war, to perceive how little correct information could be obtained by that diligent inquirer into the antiquities of his country. If we admit the common chronology, there is reason to believe that the scattered fragments of Grecian history were preserved during thirteen centuries by oral tradition. The tales or rhapsodies of the *axoides*, or bards, were succeeded by those of the Cyclic poets, of whom an account is given in Casaubon ad Athenæum, l. vii. c. 4. Salmaſ. in Solin. et Schwarzzius Altdorf in Diff. de Pœtis Cyclicis. Composition in prose began with the use of alphabetic writing about six centuries before Christ. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 29. The first prose writers, or more properly the first writers, were, Pherecydes of Syros; Acusilaus of Argos; Hellaniæus of Lesbos; Hecæteus and Dionyſus, both of Miletus; the last of whom flourished in the 65th Olymp. 520. B. C. and immediately preceded Herodotus. From the work of Herodotus, which forms, as it were, the shade between Epic Poetry and History, we may judge of the writings of his predecessors; from whom, together with the Cyclic poets, Anaximenes of Lampſacus, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and Diodorus Siculus, who lived in the time of Julius Cæſar, compiled the first books of their very extensive but inaccurate collections. Apollodorus, Hyginus (and many others, whose works are now lost), combined the more ancient records, whether in prose or verse, with the additions and embellishments of the lyric and tragic poets. When the Greek learning became known to the Romans, this compound of history and fable furnished the subject and the incidents of innumerable tragedies to Ennius, Accius, Lælius Andronicus, etc. After the downfall of Rome, learning took refuge in the eastern world. The antiquities and early history of Greece again became objects of study among the natives of that country; but the heterogeneous mass of truth and fiction was rather amalgamated, than purified, by Malala, Cedrenus, Tzetza, Constantinus Manasses, and other Greeks of the middle ages. See Heine, not. ad Æneid. II. and Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græcis. With few exceptions, the Greek writers may be pronounced extremely careless in matters of chronology. Herodotus, who has been emphatically styled the father of profane history,

4 THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

C H A P. lows, his narrative must, in some parts, be liable to objection *. Yet it seems essential to the integrity of the present work, to explain from what assemblage of nations the Greeks were formed, and by what fortunate steps they arrived, from feeble beginnings, to that condition of manners and society in which they are described by Homer; whose immortal poems, like a meteor in the gloom of night, brighten the obscure antiquities of his country.

First inhabitants of Greece

The traditions of the Greeks agree with the authentic records of sacred history, in representing the countries afterwards known by the names of Thrace, Macedon, and Greece, as peopled at an earlier period than any other portion of the western world. The southern corner of Europe, comprehended between the thirty-sixth and forty-first

commonly reckons by the ages of men. The accurate histories of Thucydides and Xenophon, where the time of each event is precisely ascertained, comprehend no more than a period of seventy years. Even in their time, chronology seems not to have been cultivated as a science, since the first specimen of that kind is said to have been given by Demetrius Phalerens in his *αρχωντων αναγραφη*, about the middle of the fourth century before Christ. The labors of Demetrius were corrected and extended by Philochorus in his *Αττικς*. The historian Timæus, who flourished in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, first arranged his narrative in the order of Olympiads, which began 776. B. C. His contemporary Sosibius gave a work, entitled *χρονων αναγραφη*; Apollodorus wrote the *συνταξις χρονικη*; and on such chronologers rests the credit of all later compilers, as well as of the Arundelian marbles, which were composed only 264 years before Christ.

* What Strabo (l. ix.) says of the first historians of Attica, "that they differed widely from each other (*πολλα διαφωνοντες*)", may be applied to all profane histories of these early times.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 5

degrees of latitude, bordering on Epirus and Macedonia towards the north, and on other sides surrounded by the sea, was inhabited, above eighteen centuries before the Christian æra, by many small tribes of hunters and shepherds, among whom the Pelasgi and Hellenes were the most numerous and powerful⁵. The barbarous Pelasgi venerated Inachus, as their founder; and for a similar reason the more humane Hellenes respected Deucalion. From his son Hellen, they derived their general appellation, which originally denoted a small tribe in Thessaly⁶; and from Dorus, Eolus, and Ion⁷, his more remote descendants, they were discriminated by the names of Dorians, Eolians, and Ionians⁸. The Dorians took possession of that mountainous district of Greece, afterwards called Doris; the Ionians, whose name was in some measure lost in the illustrious appellation of Athenians, settled in the less barren parts of Attica; and the Eolians peopled Elis and Arcadia, the western and inland regions of the Peloponnesus⁹. Notwithstanding many partial migrations, these three original divisions of the Hellenes generally entertained an affection for the establishments which had been preferred by the wisdom or caprice of their respective ancestors; a circumstance which remarkably distinguished the *Hellenic*, from the *Pelasgic*

C H A P.
I.

The Pelasgi and Hellenes.

The latter divided into Dorians, Eolians, and Ionians.

⁵ Marm. Oxon. epoch. 6. Apollodor. Biblioth. i. ii.

⁶ Thucyd. i. i. c. 28. ⁷ Strabo, i. viii. p. 383.

⁸ Herodot. i. i. c. 56. and i. vii. c. 94.

⁹ Diodor. Siculus, i. v.

¹⁰ Heraclid. Pont. apud Athenæum, i. xiv.

6 THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

C H A P. race. While the former discovered a degree of attachment to their native land, seldom found in barbarians, who live by hunting or pasturage, the latter disdaining fixed habitations, wandered in large bodies over Greece, or transported themselves into the neighbouring islands; and the most considerable portion of them gradually removing to the coasts of Italy and Thrace, the remainder melted away into the Doric and Ionic tribes. At the distance of twelve centuries, obscure traces of the Pelasgi occurred in several Grecian cities; a district of Thessaly always retained their name; their colonies continued, in the fifth century before Christ, to inhabit the southern coast of Italy, and the shores of the Hellespont: and in those widely separated countries, their ancient affinity was recognised in the uniformity of their rude dialect and barbarous manners, extremely dissimilar to the customs and language of their Grecian neighbours¹¹.

Colonies
from
Egypt and
the East.

Greece, when delivered from the turbulence of a rugged race of men, who never attained much consideration, either in the territories where they originally dwelt, or in those to which they afterwards removed, was not left to be slowly civilized by the progressive ingenuity of the Hellenic tribes. The happy position of a country, which, forming as it were the frontier of Europe with Asia, is divided only by a narrow extent of sea from Egypt and Syria, and situate within reach of those

¹¹ Herodot. l. i. Dionys. Halicarn. l. i. Pausan. l. vii.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 7

parts of the East which were anciently most flourishing and populous, naturally invited the visits of travellers, and attracted the establishment of colonies. These transient visits, or temporary settlements, were marked by many signal benefits, the memory of which was long preserved by the gratitude of Greece, and their merit probably exaggerated by her fondness for panegyric. Even those Grecian communities, which justly claimed the honor of superior antiquity, acknowledged themselves indebted to strangers for the most important discoveries, not only in religion, but in agriculture and the arts; and contented themselves with the glory of having diffused a borrowed light over the melancholy gloom of ignorance which overspread their neighbours¹². But national vanity at length produced a material change in the tradition. When the refined descendants of the rude Greeks viewed with complacency their own superiority in arts and arms to all the nations around them, they began to suspect that the Gods alone were worthy to have reared the infancy of a people, who eminently excelled the rest of mankind. To the Gods they transferred the merit of the many useful inventions communicated by the generous humanity of their ancient visitants; an ostentatious fiction colored by a faint semblance of truth, since the worship of several divinities was introduced at the same time, and by the same persons¹³,

¹² *Ilocrat. Panegy. passim.*

¹³ The Tytans, Idæi, Daëyli, Triptolemus, &c. Compare *Diodor. Sicul. l. v.* and *Ilocrat. Panegy.*

8 THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

C H A P. who made known the arts most subservient to the purposes of human life¹⁴.

I.

New colonies from the same countries.

While fable thus disguised the benefits conferred by the first transitory voyages into Greece, history preserved the memory of four successive establishments created there by foreigners. From the middle of the sixteenth, to the middle of the fourteenth century before Christ, an inundation of Egyptians, Phenicians, and Phrygians overflowed the Hælian coasts. The causes assigned for these emigrations are extremely consonant to the manners of remote antiquity, as described by sacred and profane authors: hatred of a rival, impatience of a superior, in one instance the persecution of a brother and an enemy, and, in general, that uneasy restlessness of disposition, which universally prevails among men, who have become sensible of their own powers, without having sufficiently learned to direct them to the happy pursuits of arts and industry¹⁵. The principal colonies were conducted by Cecrops¹⁶, and Danaus, Egyptians, who respectively settled in Athens and Argos; Cadmus¹⁷, a Phenician, who founded Thebes in Bœotia, and Pelops, a Phrygian¹⁸, whose descendants, intermarrying with those of Danaus, king of Argos, and Tyndareus, king of Lacedæmon or Sparta, acquired, in the person of

A. C. 1556.
1485.
1493.
1350.

¹⁴ Diodor. Sicul. l. v. Isocrat. Panegyr.

¹⁵ Isocrat. Hellen. sub initio. Pind. Olymp. I.

¹⁶ Strabo, l. ix. and Plut. in Theseo.

¹⁷ Strabo, ibid. and Isocrat. Hellen.

¹⁸ Isocrat. Panathen. Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. l. ix.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 9

Agamemnon, so powerful an ascendant in the Peloponnesus". The family of Deucalion still reigned in Thessaly; but Thebes, Athens, Argos, and Sparta, which in all ages were regarded as the principal cities of Greece, thus fell under the dominion of four foreign lines of princes, whose exploits, and glory, and misfortunes, are immortalized by the first and noblest productions of Grecian genius".

The countries, which these adventurers abandoned, had not, according to modern ideas, attained a very high degree of maturity in laws and government. Yet it cannot be doubted, that the natives of Egypt and the East were acquainted with many improvements unknown to the Hellenic tribes. Conjectures are not to be placed in the rank of facts; yet, in matters so ancient and obscure, we may be allowed to conjecture from the only facts on record, that the invaders of Greece introduced into that country the knowledge of the Phenician alphabet; improved the practice of agriculture; multiplied the rites of religion; discovered to the Greeks several uses of the metals; but, on the other hand, gradually adopted, in their turn,

Improvements introduced by these colonies into Greece.

" Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. l. iv. Isocrat. Panathen.

" The works of Homer and Pindar, and the writings of the Greek tragedians. In these, and scarcely any where else, the stories of Cadmus, Semele, Bacchus, Amphitryon, Hercules, Oedipus etc. may be read with pleasure and advantage; for as Strabo, l. ix. says, "All there is monstrous and tragic land."

10 THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

C H A P. the Grecian language, and generally conformed to
L the Grecian customs and institutions ²¹.

**The Pheni-
 cian alpha-
 bet.**

The introduction of the Phenician alphabet was an improvement too delicate and refined to be immediately attended with any important consequences. The gross understandings of the Hellenes could not easily comprehend the utility of such an ingenious invention. The knowledge of it was acquired and preserved by a few individuals ²² of more enlightened minds: but the far greater part of the nation long contented themselves with the ancient mode of picture-writing, which, however limited in its application, seemed sufficient to express the simplicity of their rude ideas.

**Several uses
 of the
 metals.**

The Phenicians were well acquainted with the precious metals as the medium of exchange. But the uniform transactions of the Greeks, as yet required not any such nicety of refinement. Even during the Trojan war, cattle, being the com-

²¹ Compare Herodotus, l. v. c. 59. l. vii. passim. Montfaucon, Palæograph. Græc. l. ii. Plin. l. v. c. 56 & 57. Hyginus, Fab. 274. and Ephorus apud Diodor. l. v.

²² Herodotus mentions three inscriptions on three tripods, consecrated in the temple of Ismenian Apollo. The first, of Amphitryon; the second, of the son of Hippocoön; the third, of Laodamus the son of Eteocles. The inscriptions on the shields of the heroes who besieged the capital of Eteocles, are noticed by Æschylus, in his tragedy entitled, "The Seven against Thebes." Yet we know from Homer, Iliad vi. that when Prætus sent Bellerophon to the king of Lycia, he gave him, not a written letter, but *σηματὰ λυγρὰ*, mournful signs. Writing, could not be common till many centuries afterwards, since the first written laws were given in Greece only six centuries before Christ. Herodot. l. ii. Strabo, l. vi.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 11

modity of most general demand, was universally regarded as the most convenient measure of value". It is not easy to determine whether gold or iron be more advantageous to man, the one by exciting his industry, the other by seconding that industry in all the variety of useful arts. The discovery of iron in Greece afforded the necessary implements of agriculture, the gradual extension of which alike improved the sterility of the soil, and the rudeness of the inhabitants. Before the arrival of Egyptian colonies, the cultivation of the ground might occasionally employ the divided industry of scattered families; but this valuable art was not considered

C H A P.
L

Extension
of agricul-
ture.

" In a well-known passage, Homer after mentioning other articles, with which the Greeks purchased wine, adds, *αὐτοῖσι βοῶσι*, " with oxen themselves." Some scholiasts and commentators have imagined, that the *βῆς* of Homer was a coin stamped with the figure of an ox, said to have been introduced by Theseus. Vid. Plut. in Theseo. But were it allowed, which is very improbable, that Theseus had a mint, it would still be improbable that Homer meant such a coin; for in the episode of Glaucus and Diomed, he says, that the former gave his golden armour, worth an hundred oxen, for the brazen armour of the latter, worth only nine. Now we know from Pollux Onomast. l. xi. c. 7. that the coin *βῆς*, at whatsoever time it was introduced, continued to be valued at two drachmas. Diomed's arms therefore, upon the supposition of the scholiasts, must have been worth about nine shillings; and Glaucus's, which were of massy gold, worth only nine pounds. Talents of gold are often mentioned by Homer. They were proposed as prizes to combatants, and offered as dedications in temples, but too valuable to serve as current specie. Homer and Herodot. passim. *Νόμισμα*, money, is derived from *νομος*, law, because, as Aristotle says: *ἢ φύσει, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ ἐστὶ*, " the origin of money is not natural, but conventional and arbitrary." But in Homer's time, the word *νομος* was used in a quite different sense: *νομισμα* must therefore have been derived from it at a later period. Com. Iliad. l. xx. v. 249. and Aristot. Ethic, Nicom. l. v. c. 5.

12 THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

C H A P. as an object of general concern. Cecrops first engaged the wandering hunters or shepherds of Attica to unite in villages of husbandmen. Corn, wine, and oil, rewarded their useful labors²⁴; and these productions being acquired by common toil, were regarded, with the ground itself, as a common property²⁵.

Religions
rites.

The idea of an exclusive and permanent right to all the uses of a piece of land, whether belonging to communities or to individuals, is one of the most important steps in the progress of society. In Greece, this invaluable right was immediately followed by such institutions as tended to secure its enjoyment, and to check the injustice of man, who is seldom willing to acquire, by slow labor, what he can ravish by sudden violence. The salutary influence of religion was employed on this necessary occasion. We are told by several writers, that the practice of agriculture, and the rites of religion, were introduced at the same time²⁶. But the same authors inform us, that their pretended founders of religious worship abolished the use of living sacrifices²⁷; a custom, which evidently supposes the prior establishment of an ancient and more bloody

²⁴ Pausan. l. iii. Æschyl. Eumen.

²⁵ The *τεμενος*, or *cut* of ground so often mentioned in Homer, as bestowed by general consent on admired kings and chiefs, might have suggested this observation, which seems to have escaped notice, though attended, as we shall find, with very important consequences.

²⁶ Diodor. Pausan. Apollod.

²⁷ *Θις καρπας αγαλλαν, ζωα μη σφαιρειναι*. Porph. de Abstin.

superstition. Yet in this humane prohibition, we may perhaps discern a laudable attempt to correct the barbarity of the Greeks, and to raise the new profession of agriculture above the ancient employment of hunting.

C H A P.
L

Before and during the time that the Hellenic tribes received continual accessions of population from distant countries, they were no less diligent in sending forth their own colonies. As they originally subsisted by hunting, fishing, and pasturage, a large extent of territory was requisite to supply them with the necessaries of life. They were not afflicted by the oppressive terrors of despotism, they were long unacquainted with the gentle, but powerful, operation of regular government; and without being subject to the one or the other, it is scarcely possible for men to live together in large societies. When any of their communities seemed inconveniently numerous, they divided it into several portions, of which the principal kept possession of their original seats, while the others occupied and peopled the surrounding territories. It was thus that the Eolians dispersed through many parts of the Peloponnesus; the unfortunate Sisyphus²⁸, who founded the city of Corinth, being a descendant of Eolus, and the ancestors of the wise Nestor, who reigned in sandy Pylos, being sprung from the same Eolic race²⁹. A considerable division of the Ionians settled along the southern shores of the Corinthian gulph, in the province which,

The Hellenes diffuse their colonies and language over Greece;

²⁸ Καὶ Σίσυφον ἰσθίδιον πατέρα ἀδελφῶν ἔχοντα. Homer Odys.

²⁹ Pausan. in Corinth. et Messen.

14 THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

C H A P. II. eighty years after the Trojan war, changed the name of Ionia for that of Achaia³⁰. The territory beyond the Corinthian isthmus was parcelled out among innumerable subdivisions of the Hellenic tribes³¹. When the continent of Greece seemed sufficiently populous; the Athenians gave inhabitants to the isle of Eubœa; and many centuries before the famous establishments formed by the Greeks on the coasts of Asia Minor, of Italy, and of Thrace, the Dorians had sent a colony to Crete³²; and the Eolians, under the conduct of Dardanus, had planted the eastern banks of the Hellespont³³. During the Trojan war, the inhabitants of those various and widely separated countries spoke the same language that was used among the Hellenes, and acknowledged the general influence of the same principles and manners. Unless it is supposed, therefore, that not only the Phrygians but the Phenicians and Egyptians, originally spoke the same Hellenic tongue, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the colonies conducted by Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus, gradually adopted the language of the aborigines of Greece³⁴.

³⁰ Strabo, l. vii. ³¹ Id. ib. Pausan. et Diodor.

³² Diodor. ibid. Strabo, l. vii. p. 496.

³³ Servius in Æneid. III.

³⁴ Herodotus, l. v. c. 58. says, that the colony of Cadmus changed their speech, being surrounded by the Ionians, an Hellenic tribe. He says further, that together with their language, they changed the power of some of their letters. He acknowledges that the Cadmeians, or Phenicians, communicated to the Ionians the use of letters; but the Ionians, he says, adapted the Phenician alphabet to the sounds of their

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 15

A single reflection appears sufficient to prove, ON A R.
that they likewise conformed to the Grecian insti- I.
tutions of government. The inflexible rigor of together
despotism, which has in all ages prevailed in with their
Egypt³⁵ and the East, was unknown to the con- institu-
querors of Troy. Since the absolute power of tions of
kings was not acknowledged during a long period govern-
of war and danger, requiring the strictest military ment.
subordination; and since the Greeks preserved their
freedom, after the increasing wealth of many centu-
ries had a tendency to prepare them for servitude;
it cannot reasonably be imagined, that an Oriental
system of oppression should have prevailed in the
more early ages of poverty and independence³⁶.

own language. The eastern tongues are in general extremely deficient
in vowels. It is, or rather was, much disputed whether the ancient
Orientals used any characters to express them. Their languages, there-
fore, had an inflexible thickness of sound, extremely different from
the vocal harmony of the Greek, which abounds not only in vowels
but in diphthongs. This circumstance denotes, in the Greeks, organs
of perception more acute, elegant, and discerning. They felt such
faint variations of liquid sounds, as escaped the dulness of Asiatic
ears, and invented marks to express them. They distinguished, in
this manner, not only their articulation, but their quantity, and
afterwards their musical intonation, as shall be explained hereafter,
in treating of the Grecian music and poetry.

³⁵ The government of the Egyptians as well as of the Asiatics, is
uniformly represented in scripture as an absolute monarchy. Herodotus
and Diodorus mention some laws of the Egyptians, which seem to
circumscribe the power of their kings. But these laws, if well ex-
amined, will confirm the observation in the text. They were estab-
lished, not in favor of the nation at large, but of the priests and
soldiers. The throne of Egypt was supported by the altar, and de-
fended by the sword; and what despotism can be upheld but by the
same means?

³⁶ See the principles established by Tacitus de Mor. German.

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C H A P.

I.

Happy situation of Greece for commerce.

The Phenicians being considered as the principal navigators and merchants of the ancient world, it is commonly believed that the example of the Phenician colonies first taught the Greeks to brave the dangers of the sea, and to maintain a commercial intercourse with each other, as well as with foreign nations. But it is sufficient to throw a glance on the geography of Greece, to perceive how naturally commerce, without foreign aid, might have arisen spontaneously in that highly favored country. The continent, *itself* washed on three sides by the sea, is surrounded by innumerable islands, abounding in excellent harbours. The variety of soils and productions is greater, perhaps, than in any other part of the world, of an equal extent. All the shores of the Mediterranean, comprehending the most beautiful, and anciently the most flourishing part of the earth, are more accessible to Greece than to any neighbouring country. Yet it appears from the light of history, that the Greeks did not early avail themselves of their fortunate situation, or of the supposed lessons of their Phenician instructors.

Circumstances which retarded the progress of society in Greece.
Face of the country.

Many circumstances conspired to prolong the infancy of their nation, and to retard, during several centuries, their improvement in commerce, as well as in agriculture, and the other useful arts. The surface of Greece is more indented by creeks and rivers, and more roughened by mountains and promontories, than that of any other part of Europe. These natural divisions kept the different communities in a state of separation and hostility.

The

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 17

The ideas of their ancient consanguinity and common origin were weakened or effaced by the recent confluence of foreigners. They could not travel beyond their own narrow districts without being exposed to the insults of enemies. These insults excited resentment; mutual injuries were offered and retorted; each city was at war with all its neighbours: thus did the *smallness* of the Grecian states, a circumstance which, during the happy ages that form the subject of the present history, tended to break the force of custom and opinion, and to encourage that noble emulation so favorable to the progress of virtue and science, produce, in less fortunate times, an effect of the most opposite nature, choke the seeds of order, and repress the feeble shoots of arts and humanity.

C H A P.
I.

Smallness
of the dif-
ferent
states.

The metals, originally destined to promote the peaceful labors of man, were converted into powerful instruments of destruction; and while the land was ravaged by the sword, the sea was covered with pirates. The Phenicians, the Carians, and the inhabitants of the Greek islands in general, considered navigation, not as the means of uniting nations by mutual intercourse and commerce, but as a happy expedient for enabling the poor and the brave to plunder the rich territories of their less warlike neighbours. The coasts of Greece, though in early times their bleak forbidding aspect might have repelled the avarice of freebooters, yet on account of the proximity of their situation, and the valuable cargoes of hardy slaves in which they abounded, were continually infested

The coasts
ravaged by
pirates.

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C H A P. by naval depredations. The unfortified places
I. near the shore surrendered without resistance; the fruits of their painful industry were plundered or destroyed, and the most valuable portion of their inhabitants dragged into captivity. The practice of piracy and invasion was not a temporary resource of war, prompted by necessity, or a just revenge; it grew into an ordinary profession, which was so far from being deemed dishonorable, that it conferred much glory and renown on those who exercised it with skill and bravery¹⁷.

The inland country invaded by savages.

During this disordered state of society, the arts of peace were almost entirely neglected, and Greece was ready to be plunged into the grossest barbarism, by its domestic dissensions. The irruptions of the Thracians, Amazons, and other northern savages, threatened to accelerate this melancholy event, and to complete the ruin of the unhappy Hellenes¹⁸. But it may be observed in the affairs of human life, that any extraordinary measure of good or evil commonly leads men to dread, or to expect, a sudden revolution, of fortune; a natural sentiment which, though liable to be abused by credulity and superstition, is founded on the firm basis of experience. The rudiments of the most useful designs are suggested always by

¹⁷ Thucyd. l. i. *ὁ δὲ κόσμος καλῶς τὰτο δρᾶν*. The expression in the text seems more consonant to Grecian manners, in those ages, than that of the scholiast, which is translated by Mr. Rochford. "Chez qui la piraterie étoit exercée avec une certaine probité." M. de l'Acad. v. 39.

¹⁸ Lyfias Orat. Funeb.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 19

necessity, often by calamity. The inroads of the wild mountaineers of Thrace, and of other barbarians more remote, whose destructive cruelty may be understood by the unexampled ravages with which even the feeble sex³⁹ carried on the ravages of war, occasioned the first institution which restored some degree of present tranquillity to Greece, and laid the foundation of its future grandeur.

The northern districts of Thessaly being peculiarly exposed to the dangerous fury of invaders, the petty princes of that province entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence⁴⁰. They assembled in spring and autumn at Thermopylæ, a place afterwards so illustrious, and then governed by *Amphiſtyon*, a descendant of Deucalion, whose name is immortalized in the *Amphiſtyonic* council. The advantages which the confederates derived from this measure, were soon perceived by their neighbours. The central states gradually acceded to their alliance; and, about the middle of the fourteenth century before Christ, Acrisius king of Argos, and other princes of the Peloponnesus, were allowed to share the benefits and security of this useful association.

After this event, the Amphiſtyons appear to have long confined themselves to the original

³⁹ The Amazons. See *Lyſias* Orat. Funeb. and *Herodotus* passim. Yet the existence of these warlike females was doubted as early as the days of the emperor Hadrian, as we learn from *Arrian*: but what is said by that judicious and manly historian, seems sufficient to dispel the doubt. See *Arrian* *Expedit. Alexan.* l. vii. p. 156.

⁴⁰ *Marm. Oxon.* E. 9.

C H A P.
L

Circum-
stances
which
tended to
civilize
Greece.

Origin of
the Am-
phyſtyonic
council.

Arconau-
tic expedi-
tion,
A. C. 1263.

20 THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

C H A P. I. purpose of their institution. The states, whose measures were directed by this assembly, found sufficient occupation in defending their own territories; and near a century elapsed, before they undertook, by common consent, any distant expedition. But it was not to be expected that their restless activity could be always exhausted in defensive war. The establishment of the Amphictyons brought together the chiefs most distinguished by birth and bravery. Glory and emulation prompted them to arms, and revenge directed those arms against the barbarians. Jason, Admetus, and other chieftains of Thessaly⁴¹, having equipped a small fleet in the neighbouring harbour of Iolcus, and particularly the ship Argo, of superior size and construction to any before known, were animated with a desire to visit foreign lands, to plant colonies in those parts of them that appeared most delightful, and to retort on their inhabitants the injuries which Greece had suffered from strangers⁴². The princes of the north having proclaimed this spirited design over the central and southern provinces, the standard of enterprise and glory was speedily surrounded by the flower of the Grecian youth⁴³, who eagerly embraced this honorable opportunity to signalize their manly valor. Peleus, Tydeus, Telamon, and, in general, the fathers of those heroic chiefs, who, in the succeeding age, shone with distinguished

⁴¹ Their names are mentioned by Apollodorus, Diod Siculus, Pindar, Apollonius, etc.

⁴² Herodot. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. ⁴³ Pindar, Pythio. iv.

lustre in the plains of Troy, are numbered among the leaders of the Argonauts. They were accompanied by the chosen warriors, and by the venerable prophets, of their respective tribes; by an Esculapius, the admired father of the healing-art, and by the divine Orpheus⁴⁴, whose sublime genius was worthy to celebrate the amazing series of their adventures.

These adventures, however, have been too much adorned by the graces of poetry, to be the proper subjects of historical composition. The designs of the Argonauts are veiled under the allegorical, or at least doubtful, phrase, "of carrying off the golden fleece;" which, though easily explained, if we admit the report that the inhabitants of the eastern banks of the Euxine extended fleeces of wool, in order to collect the golden particles which were carried down by the torrents from Mount Caucasus⁴⁵, is yet described in such various language by ancient writers, that almost every modern who examines the subject, thinks himself entitled to offer, by way of explanation, some new conjecture of his own. But in opposition to the most approved of these conjectures, we may venture to affirm, that the voyage to Colchis was not

⁴⁴ The testimony of Plato de Republ. l. x. of Isocrates in Busirid. sufficiently attest the poetical fame of Orpheus. The Argonautica, and other works ascribed to him, are collected by Eschenbachius, and published at Nuremberg 1702. That these, however, are the productions of a much later age, appears from innumerable circumstances, some of which are mentioned by Fabricius, Bib. Græc. vol. i. p. 120.

⁴⁵ Strabo, l. xi. p. 499.

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CHAP. undertaken with a view to establish extensive plans
 L of commerce “, or to search for mines of gold,
 far less to learn the imaginary art of converting
 other substances into that precious metal “; all
 such motives supposing a degree of speculation and
 refinement unknown in that age to the gallant but
 uninstructed youth of Thessaly. The real object
 of the expedition may be discovered by its conse-
 quences. The Argonauts fought, conquered, and
 plundered “; they settled a colony on the shores
 of the Euxine “; and carried into Greece a daugh-
 ter of the king of Colchis, the celebrated Medea “,
 a princess of Egyptian extraction, whose crimes
 and enchantments are condemned to eternal infamy
 in the immortal lines of Euripides.

Important
 conse-
 quences of
 the Argo-
 nautic ex-
 pedition.

Notwithstanding many romantic fictions that
 disfigure the story of the Argonauts, their under-
 taking appears to have been attended with a con-
 siderable and a happy effect on the manners and
 character of the Greeks. From the æra of this
 celebrated expedition, we may discover not only a
 more daring and more enlarged spirit of enterprise,
 but a more decisive and rapid progress towards
 civilization and humanity. The sullen and unso-
 ciable chiefs, whose acquaintance with each other
 most commonly arose from acts of mutual hostility,
 hitherto gave full scope to the sanguinary passions
 which characterize barbarians “. Strength and

“ Eustach. in Homer.

“ Suidas, Mémoires de l'Academ. v. 2. Exped. Argon.

“ Diodor. *ibid.* “ Xenoph. Anabaf. “ Euripid. Med.

“ This was the brazen age described by Hesiod. *Oper. et Di.* l. i.
 p. 142 — 155. and by Plutarch in the life of Theseus.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 23

courage were almost the only qualities which they admired : they fought and plundered at the head of their respective tribes, while the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts were regarded as fit objects only to excite their rage, and gratify their rapacity. But these gloomy warriors, having exerted their joint valor in a remote expedition, learned the necessity of acquiring more amiable virtues, as well as of adopting more liberal notions of the public interest, if they pretended to deserve the esteem of their equals. Military courage and address might alone procure them the respect of their immediate followers, since the safety of the little community often depended on the warlike abilities of the chieftain ; but when several tribes had combined in a common enterprise, there was less dependence on the prowess of any single leader. Emulation and interest naturally rendered all these leaders as jealous of each other, as desirous of the public applause ; and, in order to acquire this applause, it was necessary to brighten the lustre of martial spirit by the more valuable ³³ virtues of justice and humanity.

O H A P.
I.

Change
of man-
ners.

When this glorious field first opened to the ambition of the Greeks, they cultivated it with a degree of industry equally ardent and successful. Innumerable were the exploits of Hercules, of

The he-
roic age.

³³ Hesiod marks this change of manners. It happened between the expedition of the Argonauts and the siege of Thebes, since the latter was the first exploit in which his new race of men, γένος δμωϊότερον καὶ ἀρετικόν, were engaged. See Hesiod. Oper. et Di. l. 2. v. 155—165.

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C H A P. Theseus, and of the divine sons of Leda", and

1. undertaken with infinite toil and danger, to promote the interest and safety, not of their particular tribes, but of the general confederacy. The Grecian woods and mountains abounded in lions, boars, and other fierce animals", that often roamed from their haunts, and spread terror and desolation through the adjoining vallies. The vallies themselves teemed with men of brutal strength and courage, who availed themselves of the weakness of government to perpetrate horrid deeds of violence and cruelty. The first worthies of Greece, animated rather with the daring and useful, than with the romantic spirit of chivalry, set themselves with one accord to remedy evils which threatened the existence of society. Their adventures have,

"In order to obtain the immortal fruits of merit," says Aristotle, in his beautiful Ode to Virtue.

ὁ δῖος Ἡρακλῆς,

Λυδᾶς τε κυροί, πολλὰ ἀνέτλασαν,

ἔργοις σὺν ἀγρευόντες θηράων.

Σοὶ δὲ ποδοῖς Ἀχιλλεύς,

Αἰὶς τ' Αἰδαο δόμον ἤχθον.

This ode, which is preserved in Diogen. Laert. in Aristot. and in Athenæus, l. xv. c. 16. proves the mind of the Stagyræite to have been as lofty as capacious: And, while it comprehended the whole circle of science, capable of reaching, in lyric poetry, the highest flights of Pindar and Horace. The latter, probably, had Aristotle in view, in ode 3. b. 3.

Hæc arte Pollux, et vagus Hercules

Innixus, arces attigit igneas.

But in the order of his names, he is not so faithful to chronology.

"In the shield of Hercules, Hesiod describes a boar fighting with a lion, and almost prevailing in the combat. That animal was no less terrible on the opposite coast of Asia than in Greece, as we learn from Herodotus, l. i. c. 34. et seq.

doubtless, been embellished by the elegant fancy of poets and orators; but they will remain eternal monuments of generous magnanimity, which sacrifices the instinctive love of ease and pleasure to the acquired taste for glory and renown".

The laws of war and peace gradually improved with the progress of humanity; and the first general enterprise, which succeeded the expedition of the Argonauts, proves that whole communities, as well as individuals, had begun to respect the virtues most essential to public happiness. The war of Thebes has deserved, therefore, to be recorded; while the more ancient hostilities between the Hellenic tribes, of which justice was not even the pretence, but lust or avarice the only cause, and wealth or beauty the only prize, are universally condemned to oblivion. Contempt of an ancient oracle, the involuntary crimes of Oedipus, and the unnatural cruelty of his sons, involved the royal family of Thebes in that maze of calamities, appropriated in all ages, from Sophocles to Voltaire, as favorite subjects of the Tragic Muse. Eteocles and Polynices (these were the miserable sons of Oedipus) having hastened the death, and drawn down the maledictions, of their unhappy father, agreed to sway, by turns, the Theban sceptre. Eteocles,

C H A P.

L

The war
of Thebes,
A. C. 1225.

⁵⁵ Pausan. l. i. *Istocrat. Hellen. Encom. et Panegy.* Lyfias et Demosthen. *Orat. Funer.*

⁵⁶ I might have said Æschylus, whose "Seven against Thebes" is founded on the history related in the text. But the name of Sophocles will bring to the mind of every reader of taste and humanity, the Oedipus Tyrannus, and particularly the Oedipus Coloneus.

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C H A P. the elder brother, reigned during the first year; but his ambitious temper, corrupted by the honors of royalty, refused to resign the throne at the appointed term of his command. His rival, Poly-
I. nices, married the daughter of Adrastus, king of Argos, who enabled his son-in-law to assert, by force of arms, his just pretensions to the alternate inheritance. The allied princes, reinforced by Tydeus, Capaneus, and three other chiefs, marched to Thebes at the head of seven bands of armed followers, who invested the seven gates of the city. The Thebans, impatient of confinement within the walls of a place ill provided in supplies, yielded to the martial ardor of Eteocles, and repelled the assailants by a vigorous sally, in which the most illustrious combatants fell on both sides, and the wretched brothers perished by mutual wounds. The cause of the war being removed by this horrid catastrophe, the Argives craved leave to bury their dead; but the Thebans, exasperated against the daring invaders of their country, returned them an answer, which, according to the principles of that age, bid defiance to the dictates of nature, and the precepts of religion. In this extremity, Adrastus, the only chief who survived the battle, had recourse to the humane piety of the Athenians, who, uninfluenced by motives of ambition or interest, took arms in defence of public justice, and compelled the cruel obstinacy of the Thebans to grant the last melancholy honors to the ashes of their deceased enemies". At the distance of ten

¹⁷ Lyfias Orat. Funeb.

years, the more fortunate sons of the chiefs who had fallen before the Theban walls, repented, with the fury of religious rage, the indignities that had been impiously offered to the manes of their fathers. They again laid siege to the guilty city, destroyed the lives and property of many of the inhabitants, dragged many into captivity, and compelled the remainder to acknowledge, as their king, the infant son of the injured Polynices.¹⁸

In their progress towards civilization, the Greeks perceived the advantage of political confederacy; before they became fully sensible of the benefits of civil union. The necessity of providing for defence against the assaults of foreign enemies, and the natural dictates of interest and ambition, unfolded the idea of a federal association between different communities, before the members of any one state had been sufficiently united in the system of domestic policy. Various clusters of towns and villages, situate in winding vallies, divided by lofty mountains, acknowledged the authority of kings or chieftains, who led forth their warlike youth to glory and danger. Summoned to arms against foreign enemies, they readily flocked to the standard of their king, and received, with implicit submission, his commands in the field, but when no common cause roused their emulation, or excited their valor, the inhabitants of each little

Circumstances which favored the progress towards internal tranquillity in the Grecian states.

¹⁸ Confer. Homer. l. iv. v. 237. et passim. Hesiod. Op. et Di. Æschyl. Septem contra Thebas. Lyfias Orat. Funeb. Statius Thebaid. Apollod. l. iii. Diodor. l. iv. Pausan. in Bœotie.

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O H A P. township aspired at independent jurisdiction, and
 14 the nominal subjects of the same prince often terminated their differences by the decision of the sword⁵⁹.

The example of Crete.

To cement such disorderly communities by laws and government, required an acquaintance with some more civilized people, among whom the effects of this happy union visibly prevailed. Such an example fortunately occurred in the wise institutions and policy of the Cretans, which are represented not only as the most ancient, but the best regulations, that ever were established in any portion of the Grecian territory⁶⁰. The celebrated island, which fable has dignified with the imaginary honor of giving birth to some of the gods⁶¹ of Greece, possessed the real merit of communicating to that country many useful improvements. It had been early planted, as we had occasion already to observe, by a colony of Dorians. This colony, which received various⁶² accessions from Greece, enjoyed two advantages above their brethren on the continent. Their insular situation left them exposed, indeed, to naval depredations, but delivered them from those fierce incursions by land, which often disfigured and desolated the mother country. A favorable gale wafted the unskilful mariners of antiquity from the shores of Crete to the capital of Egypt. The facility of communication

Peculiar circumstances of that island.

⁵⁹ Thucyd. l. i. Plut. in Theseo.

⁶⁰ Plat. de Leg. et in Mido. Aristot. Pol. l. ii. Plut. in Lycorg.

⁶¹ Hesiod. Theog. l. 1. ⁶² Homer. Illad. l. xix. v. 172, etc.

this introduced between the two countries an habitual intercourse, from which the barbarous islanders had nothing to lose, and every thing to gain. Rhadamanthus¹, and others of their early kings or chieftains, whom interest or curiosity carried into Egypt and the East, appear to have had sagacity to observe, and dexterity to employ, several of the inventions and institutions of those powerful and civilized kingdoms, for the useful purpose of confirming their own authority, and bridling the fierce passions of their countrymen.

The elder Minos is peculiarly distinguished for promoting this beneficial design. The doubtful appellation of Son of the Ocean, which, perhaps, he might derive from his numerous voyages, leaves it uncertain whether he was a native Cretan, or a foreigner. In the countries which he had visited, he observed certain families invested, from time immemorial, with unbounded honors, as the immediate vicegerents of the divinity. The uncultivated, but freeborn genius of Greece, always rejected this odious profanation; yet it seemed possible to Minos to acquire that respect for his office, which he would have vainly solicited for his person. We are not informed by what virtues, civil or military, he acquired, before the establishment of his laws, an extraordinary influence among the Cretans. But as slaves multiplied to such a degree in the island during his reign, that agriculture and the mechanic arts were exercised by them

The elder
Minos.

¹ Strabo, l. x. p. 430.

C H A P. I. alone, there is reason to conjecture that he had been extremely successful in war against his neighbours, and no less equitable in dividing the booty among the various Cretan tribes who followed the fortune of his arms. However this may be, it appears from the general evidence of antiquity, that Minos had address to persuade men, prone to wonder and to believe, among whom, whatever dazzled the imagination announced the presence of a divinity, that their favorite hero was admitted to the familiarity of the gods⁶⁴. From them he pretended to derive an invaluable system of laws, which he was enjoined to engrave on tables of brass. From Jupiter he received the regal sceptre, which entitled him to administer these laws, but obliged him to respect them. By command of the same god, he founded the cities of Gnoſſus, Cydonia, and Pheſtus, and united the distant subjects of his wide-extended domain, by such regulations as served alike to support the authority of the prince, and to maintain the rights of the people⁶⁵.

Expedi-
tion of
Theseus
into Crete.
A. C. 1234.

The beautiful arrangement of this political edifice struck the discerning eye of Theseus, the illustrious son of Ægeus, king of Athens, in his celebrated expedition to Crete, during the reign of the second Minos. The last-mentioned prince joined

⁶⁴ Διὸς μεγάλης οὐρανίας. Odyss. l. xix. v. 179. which Horace translates.

Jovis arcanis Minos admiffus, L. l. Ode. 25.

⁶⁵ Strabo, l. x. p. 480. Plato in Minos. diod. l. v.

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the splendor of military renown to the famed wisdom of his revered ancestor. His maritime forces exceeded the united strength of his neighbours; he subdued several of the circumjacent isles; and while he permitted his own subjects to ravage the coasts of Greece, under pretence of lawful war, he effectually checked the piratical depredations of the Carians, Lycians, and Phœnicians, which had hitherto proved so frequent and so destructive". Athens experienced the effects of his power and ambition, and reluctantly submitted to a disgraceful tribute of seven youths, and as many virgins", which was cruelly exacted by a nation who subsisted on the labor of slaves. The tributary captives were drawn by lot from the body of the people, who trembled at the annual return of the Cretan vessel. Discontents arose against the government of Ægeus, who seemed to bear the indignity with too much tameness; when his heroic son, with a patriotism congenial to his character, generously offered his life in the service of his country". The fame of Theseus had already reached the ears of Minos, who respected his virtues; and this respect was converted into admiration, on beholding the Athenian prince a voluntary captive.

" Thucyd. l. i.

" Odyss. l. xi. v. 320. et Virgil, Æn. 6.

Tum pendere pœnas

Cecropidæ jussi, miserum ! septena quotannis
Corpora natorum.

" Ipse suum Theseus pro caris corpus Athenis
Projicere optavit.

Catullus.

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C H A P. Minos treated him with the affectionate kindness of ancient hospitality; gave him his daughter Ariadne in marriage; and declared the Athenians thenceforth free from a contribution equally cruel and ignominious. Theseus reaped great glory from this transaction. The vessel, in which he sailed, continued to be annually sent, for more than eight centuries afterwards, to return thanks to Apollo, in his favorite island of Delos⁶⁶; and the fortunate voyage to Crete was celebrated by sacrifices, and other ceremonies, handed down to the latest times of the Athenian republic⁶⁷.

Theseus communicates the Cretan improvements to Attica.

Many extraordinary circumstances, invented by the poets, disfigure events, which are otherwise sufficiently authenticated. The unnatural amours of the abominable Pasiphaë, and the bloody feasts of the monstrous Minotaur⁷¹, have been faithfully transcribed, from one age to another, in the tiresome compilations of injudicious mythologists; but it seems not to have occurred to those writers, that the expedition to Crete laid the foundation of the improvements afterwards introduced by Theseus into the Athenian government. The institutions and manners of that island presented a picture of more regular composition, and more harmonious coloring, than could be seen in any part of the Grecian continent. Various societies of freemen,

⁶⁶ Plato. Phædo.

⁶⁷ Pint. in Theseo.

⁷¹ Hic crudelis amor tauri, suppositaque furto

Pasiphaë, etc.

The judicious Virgil places these strange stories in the sculptured porch of an ancient temple.

all united under one government, all equal among themselves, and all served by slaves; no private property in land; the men eating at public tables, and the families subsisting from the common stock; the youth regularly trained to the gymnastic exercises, navigation, and war; a severe morality enforced by law; honor the reward of age and merit; and the whole community acknowledging the prerogative of an hereditary king, who derived his authority from Jupiter, but who was no longer entitled to the divine protection than he continued to observe justice, and to maintain the unalienable privileges of his subjects". Impressed with the salutary institutions which he beheld in this flourishing island, Theseus, upon his accession to the throne of his father, was ambitious to introduce them into his native country. The rudeness of the Athenians, indeed, admitted not the introduction of written laws. But the scattered villages of Attica were persuaded to embrace the regulations of the capital"; to unite in common ceremonies of religion; to acknowledge the reciprocal obligations of subjects; and, while they asserted the right of citizens, to respect, during peace and war, the sacred prerogative of royal majesty.

The improvements in domestic policy, thus introduced into Attica by the example of Crete, and the wisdom of Theseus, were gradually adopted by the neighbouring provinces". At the com-

Thence
diffused
through
Greece.

" Aristot. Polik. l. ii. c. 9, etc. Strabo, ibid. Plato de Leg.

" Thucydid. l. ii. Plut. in Theseo.

" Dionys. Halic. l. v.

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C. H. A. P. I. commencement of the Trojan war, all the Grecian states had embraced one uniform system of government, uniting the independent spirit of European freedom with the respectful veneration of Egyptian and Asiatic superstition⁷¹. This singular frame of policy, composed of materials seemingly incapable of alliance, was peculiarly well adapted to great and generous undertakings; and unless the divine, though limited authority of kings, had fortified the other institutions which served to tame the ferocity of the Greeks, there is reason to doubt whether their leaders could have engaged above an hundred thousand stubborn Barbarians to undertake a distant and difficult enterprise, much less have detained their reluctant impatience during ten years in the siege of Troy.

This enables the Greeks to undertake the Trojan war.

Description of Greece;

its strength and resources.

Before we examine the causes and incidents of this celebrated siege, to which the exploits hitherto related seem but unworthy preludes, it may be proper to take a short view of the strength and resources of the two nations, who were eager to shock in a conflict, that totally destroyed the one, and proved extremely ruinous to the other. Exclusive of the provinces of Epirus and Macedonia, which long remained barbarous and uncultivated, the continental possessions of the Greeks were nearly equal to Scotland in extent, marked with still bolder features, and blessed with a warmer sun. In its length, the whole country is almost equally divided by two opposite gulphs, compressing

⁷¹ Homer, *passim*.

between them a mountainous neck of land, to the breadth of only five miles, into the peninsula of Peloponnesus, and the territory extending northwards, from the extremity of the Corinthian isthmus to the southern frontier of Macedonia". The Peloponnesus, an hundred and sixty miles in length, and scarcely one hundred in breadth, is every where intersected by mountains, particularly the towering ridges of Zarex and Taygetus. During the flourishing ages of Greece, this small peninsula contained seven independent communities, of unequal power and fame, which ranked in the following order: The comparatively large, and highly diversified, territory of Laconia; the fruitful vale of Argos; the extensive coast of Achaia; the narrow but commercial isthmus of Corinth; the central and mountainous region of Arcadia; together with the more level countries of Elis and Messenia, which are throughout better adapted to tillage than any other provinces of the Peloponnesus". The Grecian possessions beyond the Corinthian isthmus were more considerable, extending above two hundred miles from east to west, and one hundred and fifty from north to south. They were naturally divided, by the long and intricate ridges of Olympus, Pindus, Oeta, and Ossa, into nine separate provinces; which, during the celebrated ages of Grecian freedom, were occupied by nine independent republics. They comprehended the extensive and fertile plains of

" Strabo, l. vii.

" Strabo, *ibid.* et Pausan. *Messen.*

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C H A P. Theffaly and Bœotia, both of which were, in early times, much exposed to inundations; and the latter, abounding in subterranean caverns, was peculiarly subject to earthquakes; the less fertile, but more secure territory of Attica; the western provinces of Ætolia and Acarnania, encompassed on one side by dangerous seas, and confined on the other by almost impassable mountains; and the four small rocky districts of Phocis, Doris, Locris, and Megara⁷⁸.

It has been observed, that these names and divisions, which remained to the latest times, are pretty accurately marked by Homer, whose poems continued, through succeeding ages, to be the approved standard and legal code, to which neighbouring communities appealed, in adjusting their disputed boundaries⁷⁹. This observation, however, must be qualified chiefly by two exceptions. During the Trojan war, the extensive province of Theffaly sent forth above a fourth part of the whole Grecian strength, and was divided among many warlike leaders. It might naturally be expected, while agriculture and pasturage were the principal occupations subservient to human life, that a country, abounding in plains and meadows, should excel in population and in power⁸⁰. When commerce, navigation, and the mechanic arts enriched and adorned the middle and southern divisions of Greece, the northern district of Theffaly lost its ancient pre-eminence. The second

⁷⁸ Strabo, l. vii.

⁷⁹ Plut. in Solon.

⁸⁰ Plato in Menon.

exception arose from the extensive power of the house of Pelops, which, as already mentioned, had, by fortunate marriages and rich successions, acquired dominion over the northern and eastern parts of the Peloponnesus, formerly containing several independent principalities, and, after the misfortunes of Agamemnon and his family, again divided into the immortal republics of Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and Achaia.

From this general view of the country, it will not appear remarkable, that, in an age when every able-bodied man was a soldier, Greece should have raised an army of an hundred and two thousand men. The Acarnanians alone, for reasons unknown, sent no forces to Troy. But the continent was assisted by the generous efforts of Crete, of Rhodes, and of many smaller islands, which were subject to their respective princes, or governed by the wide-extended dominion of Agamemnon. The vessels collected for transporting these forces to Asia amounted to twelve hundred sail. They were equipped at little expense, and built with little ingenuity, moved by only one bank of oars, and entirely unprovided with decks or anchors. Their complement varied in different vessels; some contained an hundred and twenty, others only fifty men, who appear to have been equally acquainted with the military art, as practised in that remote age, and with the rude simplicity of ancient navigation."

Number of
the Gre-
cian ships
and troops.

" Thucyd. *ibid.* Homer, *passim*.

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CHAPTER.

I.
Description of
Troas, or
Lesser
Phrygia.

History of
that coun-
try.

The celebrated kingdom of Priam, against which this armament was directed, occupied the eastern banks of the Hellespont, the southern coast of the Propontis, and the northern shores of the Ægean. From the river Eſopus to the promontory of Lectum, the Trojan dominions extended in length two hundred miles; but their breadth was far less considerable, being regularly compressed between three seas, and the lofty ridges of mount Ida. This delightful and picturesque country, which excelled Greece in fruitfulness of soil and softness of climate²², was distinguished by the epithet of Hellespontian, from the large inland province, which bore the common name of Phrygia²³. The Lesser, or Hellespontian Phrygia, was planted, according to tradition, by a Grecian colony, about two hundred years before the Trojan war. The similarity of religion, language, and manners, sufficiently justified that opinion, and seems to have induced the most diligent inquirers of antiquity to regard not only the Trojans, but the Lycians and Pamphylians, as scattered branches of the Hellenic nation²⁴, which distance of place had gradually cut off from all communication with the trunk. The Asiatic Greeks were exposed to none of those unfavorable circumstances already mentioned, which long retarded the improvement of their brethren in Europe. The fertile and extensive plains of Asia offered them the materials of

²² Hippocrat. de Loc.

²³ Strabo, l. xiii.

²⁴ Herodot. l. vii. Strabo, l. xiv.

more powerful kingdoms than Greece could afford; and, instead of being harassed and endangered by the continual incursions of northern savages, they enjoyed the vicinity of the Phrygians and Lydians, nations described as flourishing in wealth and peace from the remotest antiquity⁶⁶. From the prevalence of the Grecian language and customs on the one hand, and the name of the country on the other, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that the Trojans were a mingled race of Greeks and Phrygians, collected by Dardanus, ancestor fifth in degree to old Priam.

This adventurer, whose parentage Homer leaves uncertain, by calling him son of Jupiter⁶⁷, founded a city on one of the many western branches of mount Ida, commanding a beautiful and fertile plain, and watered by the immortal rivers Simois and Scamander⁶⁸. The new settlement flourished under his son, the wealthy Erichthonius, who, by the judicious management of his mares and stallions, supplied the neighbouring kingdoms with horses of a superior breed. His successor, Tros, communicated his name to the territory, which was often called Troas, and to the celebrated city Ilion, which his son Ilus, having removed his residence from the mountain, built on the adjoining plain. Laomedon, the successor of Ilus, fortified the town of Ilion, or Troy, with walls of such uncommon strength, that, in the language and

⁶⁶ Herodot. l. i. Dionys. Halic. l. i. Suidas in voc. *Αἰώνιος*.

⁶⁷ Iliad, xx. v. 215. ⁶⁸ Ibid. xx. v. 216, etc. Strabo, l. viii.

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CHAP. I. belief of the times, they were deemed the work of the gods²⁰. Whether he defrauded his supposed auxiliaries of their promised rewards and sacrifices, or supplied the expense of this undertaking by despoiling their sacred shrines, it is certain that the guilt of Laomedon was believed to entail calamity on his unhappy descendants.

Reign of Priam.

His son Priam, however, long enjoyed the deceitful gifts of fortune, before he was overtaken by the vengeance of heaven. Having attained old age in the undisturbed possession of a throne, he was surrounded by a numerous and flourishing family, beloved by his subjects, and respected by his neighbours. Yet this amiable, but too indulgent prince, was destined to feel the sharpest pangs of human misery.

Causes of the Trojan war.

Hereditary feuds subsisted between the ancestors of Priam and those of Agamemnon, when the latter quitted their establishments in Asia, to seek new settlements in Greece. The insult offered to Ganymede, a beautiful Trojan youth, by the brutal fury of Tantalus²¹, was retorted on Menelaus, the fourth in descent from this infamous prince, by the rape and detention of his queen, the celebrated Helen. Paris, the ill-fated son of Priam, was the author of this new injury. But resentment for the wrongs of his house formed not the

²⁰ Homer, *Iliad*, xx. v. 216. etc. Strabo, lxxiii.

²¹ It has been observed, that the story of Tantalus, father of Peleus, was probably the invention of a later age. It is certain that, whatever might prevail in Phrygia, the unnatural passion, which disgraced the later times of Greece, was unknown in that country during the heroic ages. *Natal. Com.* l. ix. c. 13.

only motive which engaged the youthful levity of Paris to dishonor the sister-in-law of Agamemnon. Helen was the daughter of Tyndareus, king of Sparta. The illustrious honors of her family were adorned by the generous magnanimity of her brothers, Castor and Polydeuces, whose exploits shone conspicuous in all the military expeditions of that gallant age. But the native lustre of Helen needed not the aid of foreign ornament. Even in the tender age of childhood, her opening charms had inflamed the heart of Theseus²⁰, the most admired and the most virtuous of the Grecian chiefs. The fame of her beauty increased with her ripening age, and her person became an object of eager contention among those who, by birth or merit, were entitled to aspire at the invaluable prize. Tyndareus, solicitous to prevent the violence of a second lover (for, agreeably to the manners of his age, Theseus had carried her off by force), bound the various suitors by oath to defend the honor of his daughter, and to secure the possession of her charms to the man who should be honored with her choice²¹. The princely mien and insinuating manners of Menelaus, were preferred to the more solid qualities of his numerous competitors. Having married the heiress of Tyndareus, he succeeded, in her right, to the Spartan throne²². The graceful pair had not long enjoyed the honors of royalty, and the sweets of conjugal union, when their happiness

C H A P.

I.

Beauty and adventures of Helen, daughter of the king of Sparta.

She marries Menelaus, who succeeds to that kingdom.

²⁰ Plut. in Thesea. ²¹ Thucyd. l. i. c. 9. ²² Pausan. Lacon.

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CHAP. I. was interrupted by the arrival of the son of Priam, the handsomest man of his age, and singularly adorned with the frivolous accomplishments that often captivate the weakness of a female mind. **Character of Paris, son of Priam;** Though a soldier of no great renown, Paris had strongly imbibed the romantic spirit of gallantry which prevailed in the heroic ages, and was distinguished by an ardent passion for beauty, which, notwithstanding the general softness of his unwarlike character, prompted him to brave every danger in pursuit of his favorite object. Animated by the hope of beholding the inimitable model of what he most adored, he seized the opportunity afforded him by a voyage of Menelaus into Crete, visited the dominions of his hereditary enemies, and solicited the rites of hospitality at the Spartan court.

who seduces, and carries her to Troy. His person, his accomplishments, his address, and still more the voluntary hardships which he had endured for her sake, seduced the inconstant affections of the Grecian queen. Enamoured of the elegant stranger, she abandoned her country and her husband, and having transported her most valuable treasure within the Trojan walls, defied the resentment of Greece, and the vengeance of heaven.

Perseus had carried off the African Medusa; Jason, Medea of Colchis; Theseus, the Amazon Antiope; Hercules, Megara, Iole, Deaneira, etc. The historical poets of the heroic ages might have said, with Ariosto,

Le donne, i cavalier, l'arme, gli amori,

La cortesia, l'audace impresa io tanto.

It was now the time for Menelaus to crave the stipulated assistance of his ancient rivals. His demand was enforced by the authority of Agamemnon²². At the summons of the two brothers, the confederates assembled at Ægium, the capital of Achaia; confirmed the obligation of their former promise; settled the proportion of troops to be raised by each prince; determined the time and place of their departure; and named Agamemnon, the most powerful among them, to the chief command, in an expedition which so deeply concerned the honor of his family.

C. H. A. P.
I.
The
Greeks de-
termined to
recover
her.

Aulis, a sea-port of Bœotia, was appointed for the place of rendezvous and embarkation²³. Before the whole armament sailed from thence, Ulysses king of Ithaca, and, what may seem extraordinary, the injured Menelaus, undertook a solemn embassy to Troy, in order to demand restitution and reparation; but returned highly disgusted with their reception and treatment. Some members of the Trojan council had the barbarity to propose putting them to death. Their just indignation increased the warlike ardor of their associates. But contrary winds long retarded their departure. The Trojans had time to strengthen their ramparts, to collect arms and provisions, and to summon the assistance of their distant allies. The martial spirit of the age, together with a sense of common danger, brought many powerful auxiliaries to Priam. His cause was defended by the

Sail to
Troy un-
der the
command
of Aga-
memnon.

²² Thucyd. l. 2. c. 2.

²³ Hesiod, Opp. et Diss.

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C H A P. hardy mountaineers, who covered the back of his kingdom; by the Carians, Lycians, and other nations of Asia Minor, extending from the mouth of the river Halys to the southern extremity of Cilicia; and by the Pelasgi, Thracians, and Pæonians, fierce barbarians who inhabited the European side of the Hellespont and Propontis. Confiding, however, rather in their domestic strength, than in foreign assistance, the Trojans determined to defend their native shores against hostile invasion. The debarkation of the Greeks was purchased by much blood. Having effected a descent, they encamped on the Trojan plain, but lost the only opportunity which they enjoyed during many years, of crushing at once the power of their enemies; who immediately shut themselves up within their impenetrable walls, leaving the city open only on the side of mount Ida, from which they received corn, cattle, and other necessary supplies.

Effect a
descent on
the Trojan
coast.

Causes
which pro-
tracted the
siege of
Troy.

Agamemnon, as there was reason to expect from the manners of his age, had been more industrious in collecting a great army, than provident in contriving means by which it might keep the field. The provisions, transported from Greece, were speedily consumed, while the operations of the siege promised little hope of success, the Greeks being unacquainted with any military engines fitted to make an impression on the Trojan walls. With such a numerous army, they might have converted the siege into a blockade; but scarcity of supplies compelled the greater part of them to

quit the camp. The resource of ravaging the adjacent country soon exhausted itself. Many betook themselves to cultivating the rich vales of the Chersonesus, whose industrious inhabitants had recently been expelled, or destroyed, by the fierce incursions of the barbarous Thracians²⁶. Others had recourse to piracy, scoured the neighbouring seas, ravaged the unprotected coasts of the Hellespont and Ægean, and plundered or demolished such unfortified places as acknowledged the dominion, or assisted the arms of Troy²⁷. These ravages excited the rage of the Asiatics, and rendered them more hearty in the cause of their confederates. In this manner nine summers and winters elapsed, without affording the nearer prospect of a decision to the contest; but, in the tenth year of the war, the seeming misfortunes of the Greeks precipitated the downfall of the proud city of Priam. A dreadful pestilence invaded the camp of the besiegers, and long continued to rage with unabating fury. This calamity was followed by the well-known quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, which deprived the Grecian army of its principal strength and ornament. The Trojans derived new spirits from the misfortunes of their enemies; they ventured to abandon the protection of their walls, boldly assailed the Grecian camp, and risked several engagements, in most of which they were victorious. In the last of these, the beloved friend of Achilles was slain by the arm of Hector, the

C H A P.

L

That city taken in the tenth year of the war.

²⁶ Thucyd. l. i.

²⁷ Homer, *passim*.

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C H A P. bravest and most generous of the Trojan race.

E This event, which was infinitely more dreadful than death to the affectionate ardor of the Grecian chief, stifled his hitherto inexorable resentment against the proud tyranny of Agamemnon. His return to the camp restored the declining fortune of the Greeks; and the indignant fury of his rage was quenched in the detested blood of Hector, whose patriotic valor had long been the firmest bulwark of his father's kingdom. The destruction of Troy²² soon followed the death of her darling hero. The city, whether taken by storm or by surprise, was set on fire during night; most of the citizens perished by the sword, or were dragged into captivity; and only a miserable remnant escaped through the confused horror of raging flames and expiring kinsmen.

Future
fortunes of
Troy.

The burning of Troy happened eleven hundred and eighty-four years before the Christian æra. Neither the city nor territory ever assumed, in any succeeding age, the dignity of independent government²³. The sea-coast was planted eighty

²² We should probably know something more of the history of the Trojan war, if the works of Pisander remained. Macrobius, in speaking of the plagiarisms of the Romans from Greek writers, has the following passage: "Quæ Virgilius traxit a Græcis, dicturum me putatis, quæ vulgo nota sunt? . . . vel quod eversionem Trojæ cum Sinone suo & equo ligneo, ceterisque omnibus, quæ librum secundum faciunt, a *Pisandro* pene ad verbum transcripserit, qui inter Græcos poetas eminet," &c. Macrobi. l. v. c. 2.

²³ I have carefully examined the evidence given by Bochart (*Epist. num. Æneas unquam fuit in Italia*), and by Mr. Wood (*Essay on the original Genius of Homer*), to prove that the descendants of

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 47

years after the Trojan war, by new colonies from Greece; and the inland parts submitted to the growing power of the Lydians, whose arms overspread and conquered all the finest provinces of Lesser Asia.¹⁰⁰

The Greeks had recovered possession of the admired beauty of Helen; they had taken complete vengeance on the family¹⁰¹ and nation of her unhappy seducer; but the misfortunes, which were the natural consequence of the Trojan expedition, left them little reason to boast of their victory. Of five Bæotian commanders, only one remained, and the siege had been proportionably fatal to the leaders of other tribes, as well as to their warlike followers. Those who lived to divide the rich spoils of Troy, were impatient to set sail with their newly-acquired treasure, notwithstanding the threatening appearance of the skies. Many of them perished by shipwreck; the rest were long tossed on unknown seas; and when they expected to find in their native country the end of their calamities, they were exposed to suffer greater calamities there, than any which they had yet endured. The thrones of several of the absent princes had

The calamitous return of the Greeks.

Eneas reigned in Troy. But notwithstanding the learned ingenuity of a profound, and the plausible criticism of an elegant scholar, the matter seems still too doubtful to warrant contradicting the popular opinion.

¹⁰⁰ Herod. l. ii. Thucyd. l. i. Justin, l. xviii. Strabo, l. iii.

¹⁰¹ I dwell not on a subject which has been handled by the great masters of the passions. See Virgil:

Forstam et Priami faciat quæ fata requiras, etc.

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C H A P. been usurped by violence and ambition; the lands
1. of various communities had been occupied by the
invasion of hostile tribes: even the least unfortu-
nate of those adventurers found their domains
uncultivated, or their territories laid waste; their
families torn by discord, or their cities shaken by
sedition. And thus the most celebrated enterprise
of combined Greece tended to plunge that delight-
ful and once happy country into barbarism and
misery ¹⁰³.

¹⁰³ Plato, de Leg. l. iii. Thucyd. l. i. p. 9.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 49

C H A P. II.

Religion.—Government.—Arts.—Manners, and Character.

THE ancient Greeks had strongly imbibed an opinion that the country in which they lived was peculiarly favorable to the dignity of human nature. The voluptuous climates of Asia produced invention and ingenuity; but softened the tempers of men into a fitness for servitude. The rigorous severity of European skies gave strength and agility to the limbs, and hardy boldness to the mind, but chilled the fancy, and benumbed the finer feelings of the soul. The inhabitants of the east and south were degraded below the condition of humanity, by an unfortunate abuse of power, while the turbulent sons of the north and west were incapable, from ignorance and indocility, of submitting to any regular system of government. The Greeks alone, possessing an intermediate situation between the extremes of cold and heat, united courage and capacity; tempered the stern and manly, with the gentler virtues; and enjoyed the double advantage of liberty and laws¹.

This splendid observation is too flattering to the dictates of national vanity to be hastily adopted by a cautious inquirer into truth, who will be apt to

C H A P.
II.
Introduction.

The authority of Homer, as an historian.

¹ Aristot. Politic. l. vii. c. 2. Isocrat. Govern. Athen. Panegyric. et Panathen.

50 THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

C H A P. ascribe the superior lustre of Grecian manners, rather to the elegant imagination of authors, than to the intrinsic merit of their subject. Yet it must be acknowledged, several circumstances would lead us to believe, that the great poet to whom we owe our principal information concerning the ancient state of Greece, copied from nature only. The majesty of Virgil, the splendor of Tasso, and the sublimity of Milton, are not sufficient to conceal an effort in those noble writers to maintain the tone which they have assumed; a desire to embellish the manners which they describe; an ambition to elevate and to adorn their poems by the use of a marvellous machinery, which had not its foundation in the experience, and (as to Virgil and Tasso) scarcely in the belief of their own age. In Homer there is neither embellishment, nor effort, nor disguise of any kind; he relates what he has seen and heard with unaffected simplicity; his ideas and sentiments are not only clothed in the graces of poetry; but arrayed in the charms of truth; and an amazing diversity of characters, preserving amidst innumerable shades of discrimination a general air of resemblance, distinguish the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* above other poetical compositions, and prove them to have been copied, not from the limited combinations of human invention, but from the wide variety of impressions in the rich storehouse of nature. In some descriptive parts of his poem, Homer doubtless yielded to the pleasing dictates of his inimitable fancy; but it seems plain from internal evidence only, that he delineates with

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 51

minute accuracy the geography, mythology, history, and manners of Greece ; and that his observations concerning all these subjects are perfectly agreeable to the opinions and belief which universally prevailed among his countrymen. If this matter required the aid of foreign evidence, it might be fully confirmed by the testimony of the Greek historians, who support in every instance the veracity of the poet ; asserting not only the authenticity of the facts which he relates, but the influence of the causes to which he ascribes them^a.

It may be observed, however, by those who would repress the ebullitions of Grecian vanity, that, admitting the poems of Homer as complete evidence concerning the ancient state of his country, all the advantage that would follow from this supposition is, that the Greeks have been accurately described at an earlier period of their society than most other nations ; but the silence of those nations

C H A P.
II.

Comparison between the Greeks of the heroic ages, and the Germans as described by Tacitus.

^a The nature and transactions of the gods, which justly shock the feelings of the modern reader, are perfectly conformable to the belief of the Greeks. The continual interposition of these ethereal beings in the affairs of human life, is justified by Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and all succeeding writers. Herodotus, l. i. c. 131. explains the reason why the Persians erected neither temples, nor images, nor altars, by saying, "οτι εκ ανθρωποειδους νομισαν τας θεας, κατατις δ' ε' Ελληνες, ιναυ, " because they did not, like the Greeks, believe the " gods to partake of a human nature, or form." That the gods often appeared in a human shape, is taken for granted by Pausanias in Arcad. and Plutarch, de Musica. The same opinion was firmly maintained by Julian, an orthodox pagan, in a later age. See Gibbon, Vol. III. Many instances will occur in the following history, to prove the exact conformity of Homer's descriptions to the general belief of his country.

C H A P. cannot reasonably be interpreted as a proof of their inferiority to the Greeks in manners or in policy. II. The masterly description of a philosophic historian has rescued the antiquities of one other people from oblivion; and the generous spirit of *their* simple but manly institutions, as painted by his expressive pencil, is scarcely disgraced by a comparison with the boasted customs of the heroic ages.

In the preference of military glory to all other advantages, in the freedom of debate in the public assemblies, and in the protection afforded to the rights and liberties of the meanest citizen, the treatise of Tacitus will equally apply to the Germans and to the Greeks. But there is one material circumstance wanting in the German, which adds peculiar beauty to the Grecian character. Among the rude inhabitants of ancient Germany, the offices of priest and king were not united in the same person. The rites of religion were administered by a particular order of men, who might abuse the superstitious fears of the multitude to promote their own selfish designs; and the dread of superior powers, though sometimes employed to enforce the dictates of nature, and to promote the operations of government, might also, with equal success, be employed to weaken the impressions of the one, and to resist the authority of the other. Besides this unfavorable circumstance, the superstition of the Germans was of a dark and gloomy kind, little connected with the ordinary duties of society, recommending principally the practice of courage, the only virtue which there was not any

occasion to recommend; and promising, as the reward of what was deemed the highest excellence in life, the enjoyment of an infamous paradise of immortal drunkenness after death³.

C H A P.
II.

The mythology of the Greeks was of a more agreeable, and of a far more useful nature. The sceptre, which denoted the connexion of civil power with sacred protection, was conferred on those who, while they continued the humble ministers of the gods, were appointed to be the chief, but accountable guardians of the people⁴. The same voice that summoned the warriors to arms, or that decided, in time of peace, their domestic contentions, conducted the order of their religious worship, and presided in the prayers and hymns addressed to the divinity. These prayers and hymns, together with the important rite of sacrifice (which likewise was performed by royal hands), formed the *ceremonial* part of the Grecian religion. The *moral* was far more extensive, including the principal offices of life, and the noblest virtues of the mind. The useful quality of courage was peculiarly acceptable to the stern god of war; but the virtues of charity and hospitality were still more pleasing to the more amiable divinities⁵. The submission of subjects to their prince, the duty of

The religion of the Greeks.

Its happy influence on society.

³ Tacit. de Morib. German. Mr. Gibbon's Roman Empire.

⁴ Ποιμένες λαών.

⁵ ——— πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἅπαντες
ἔειναι τε πτωχοὶ τε

All strangers and beggars come from Jove.

Odys. xiv. 56.

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C H A P. a prince to preserve inviolate the rights of his subjects', the obedience of children to their parents', the respect of the young for the aged, the sacred laws of truth, justice, honor, and decency, were inculcated and maintained by the awful authority of religion. Even the most ordinary transactions of private life were consecrated by the piety of the Greeks. They ventured not to undertake a voyage, or a journey, without soliciting the propitious aid of their heavenly protectors. Every meal (and there were three* in a day) was accompanied with a sacrifice and libation. The common forms of politeness, the customary duties of civility, were not decided by the varying taste of individuals, but defined by the precise voice of the gods'.

The sanctions of their religion.

It would have served little purpose to oppose salutary laws to the capricious licence of barbarians, without guarding those laws by very powerful sanctions. Whether these sanctions be founded on opinion or on fact is, with respect to their influence on the mind, a matter of little moment. The dreaded vengeance of imaginary powers may be equally effectual with the fear of the axe and halberd. The certainty of this vengeance was firmly

* Iliad, xvi. v. 385.

† It is not humanity, but the fear of the gods, that is mentioned as the reason by Telemachus for not sending away his mother. Odyss. 2,

* Ἀριστον δειπνον δορυπος.

• The king of the Phœaciens does not detain Ulysses longer than he chuses, lest he should offend the gods, Odyss. viii. See also the behaviour of Ulysses and Telemachus, in the cottage of Eumæus. Odyss. xiv. and xvi.

established in the Grecian creed; and its operation was supposed to be so immediate and palpable, that it was impossible for the inattention of men to overlook, or for their address to elude its force¹⁰. The daring violations of the sacred law¹¹ were speedily overtaken by manifest marks of the Divine displeasure. "The insolence and violence of the corrupted youths¹²", says Homer, "cried aloud to heaven, whose decrees were soon executed by the avenging hands of Ulysses." The judgments inflicted on guilty communities were so familiar to the minds of men, that the poet introduces them by way of similes¹³; and it is evident from his writings throughout, that every important event, prosperous or adverse, which happened either to individuals or to nations, appeared to the pious resignation of the Greeks, the reward of their religion and virtue, or the punishment of their irreligion and vice¹⁴. The merit of the father was

¹⁰ See the first book of Hesiod's poem! "Of Works and Days," throughout: and particularly

Ω Περση ου δ' ακευε δικησ μηδε υβριν οφωλλε, from v. 110 till v. 242: and again,

Τονδε γαρ ανθρωποισι νομεν διαταξε Κρονιον, from v. 274 till v. 291.

¹¹ Θειμισας δικας. Homer, *passim*.

¹² Ουυσ. i.

¹³ See a beautiful example of this, *Iliad*. xvi. v. 385. The expression of Hesiod is remarkable:

Παντα ιδων Διος οφθαλμος, και παντα νοητας

Και νυ ταδε, αιμε εβελησι, επιδεχεται, etc.

"The eye of Jove, that beholds all, and observes all, looks upon these transactions, when he pleases; nor does it escape his notice what kind of justice is rendered in the city."

¹⁴ The success of the Greeks against Troy proves both parts of the proposition. All the misfortunes of the Grecian chiefs were inflicted

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CHAPTER II. often acknowledged in the protection of the son; and the crimes of a guilty progenitor were often visited on his descendants to the third and fourth generation¹⁵.

These observations are confirmed, not only by the writings of Homer and Hesiod throughout, but by almost every page of Herodotus, of Pindar, as well as of the Greek tragedians and historians; and yet they seem to have escaped the notice of some of the most ingenious inquirers into the opinions of antiquity. The authority of Greek writers strongly opposes two systems, which have been supported with great ability, and which have gained considerable credit in the world. The first, that the religion of the ancients had little or no connexion with morality: the second, that the governments of Greece could not have been supported

as punishments. Oilean Ajax was slain for his presumption, by Neptune (*Odyss.* iv.); and Ajax, the son of Telamon, was a memorable example of the fatal effects of the same vice. When Minerva offered him her assistance, he desired her to go to others, for the enemy would never attempt to penetrate where Ajax fought. Before his departure for Troy, Telamon prayed that the gods would give valor to his son; when the proud son, aspiring above the condition of humanity, said, That any man might be brave and victorious by the assistance of the gods; for his part, he expected to obtain glory by his own merit; the gods punished him with madness, and, after exposing him to the ridicule of his enemies, made him fall by his own hands. See the Ajax of Sophocles, from v. 760 to v. 800.

¹⁵ Minerva protected Telemachus on account of his father's merit. *Odyss.* passim. The misfortunes of the royal families of Thebes and Argos, described in the many tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, abundantly prove the truth of the last observation.

without the doctrine of a future state ¹⁶. The connexion between religion and morality is clearly asserted in the various passages to which we have had occasion to allude; and the belief of a future state of retribution cannot, according to the principles of the learned author of the Divine Legation of Moses, be reckoned necessary to the government of men, who are fully persuaded of the actual and immediate interposition of Divine wisdom and justice, to regulate, by temporal rewards and punishments, the affairs of the present life ¹⁷.

¹⁶ See Hume's Natural History of Religion, and Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses. The eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, which the ancients called the *Nekromanteion*, is the obscurest, and, in my opinion, the least agreeable part of Homer. The ghosts are all condemned to a melancholy and dreary state; even the greatest heroes are very miserable and dejected; and there is not any mention of the place of reward for the virtuous. Homer speaks of the Elysian fields but once (*Odyssey* iv. ver. 563.). Proteus tells Menelaus, that he is not *destined to die at Argos*, and that the gods would send him *εἰς Ἡλύσιον πεδῖον καὶ περὶ τὰ γαῖης*; so that, if the language is not metaphorical, Homer's Elysium was only a delicious spot on this earth, and situated, according to Strabo's conjecture, on the southern coast of Spain. Strabo, l. iii. Ulysses (*Odysse* ii. ver. 600.) sees the images of Hercules in Tartarus, but the hero himself, as the poet informs us, was feasting with the immortal gods. I have never met with any intelligible explanation of this passage, the absurdity of which appeared a proper subject of ridicule to Lucian, in *Diogen. et Hercul.* — Hesiod's Elysium is more agreeable.

¹⁷ The gods, indeed, are sometimes engaged in very unwarrantable transactions; but these are only means to compass some wise and just end, which the will of providence, the *δῖος βούλη*, or fate, had previously determined. Examples also may be brought from Homer, of men attempting to obtain, by costly sacrifices, the assistance of the gods in acts of injustice and cruelty. This must be allowed to be an inconsistency in Grecian superstition, or rather in the passions which gave it birth.

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CHAP.

II.

Origin of
the gods of
Greece

not ex-
plained in
history.

As this persuasion had such general and happy effects on the manners of the Greeks, it may be proper to consider its origin, and to describe more particularly the nature and genius of the superstition to which it gave birth: a superstition which, two thousand years after losing its imaginary authority over the useful occupations of men, still preserves a real power over their most elegant amusements.

It belongs not to the design of this work to search for the mythological tenets of Greece in the opinions of other nations: a subject of inquiry upon which much learned conjecture and much laborious ingenuity have already been very laudably, but I fear not very successfully, employed¹⁸. By the dim light of etymology and tradition, and the deceitful glare of legend and fable, inquisitive men have endeavoured to trace the corrupted streams of Pagan worship to the pure fountain of the Jewish dispensation¹⁹. But the majesty of Jehovah is very feebly represented by the united power of Homer's divinities: and the mythology of the Greeks is of such a peculiar texture, that, whencesoever ori-

¹⁸ Bochart's *Geograph.* Bryant's *New Analyst.* Fourmant, Le Clerc, de la Pluche, etc. Their doctrine is opposed in the extraordinary work of Vico Neapolitano, entitled "*Principj di Scienza nuova d'intorno alla commune Natura delle Nazioni.*" The third edition of this work was published at Naples in 1744.

¹⁹ The general doctrine of providence, the rebellion in heaven, the state of innocence, the fall of man, atonement by sacrifice, a future state of retribution, for which the present life is only preparatory: all, or some of these tenets, are found in the traditions of all nations, Greeks and Barbarians. See *Hesiod. Oper. et Di. ver. 110* and *ver. 165.* and *Theog. ver. 725* and *ver. 220.*

ginally derived, it must have undergone a particular modification in the Grecian soil; nor is it easy to concur with the opinion of writers who bring it immediately from Egypt, Chaldea, or Lesser Asia, when we consider that there is not the smallest vestige in Homer of the judicial astrology which prevailed so strongly in the two first²⁰, or of the worshipping of idols, which almost universally predominated in the last²¹.

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II.

The difficulty of giving such an historical deduction of the Grecian faith as would not be exposed to innumerable objections, obliges us to trace its origin in the natural passions of the human heart, the hopes, the fears, the wants, the misery of man, which have in all ages rendered him a prey to the terrors of superstition²². This miserable passion, which, in the civilized countries of modern Europe, operates only at distant intervals, and chiefly in the unfortunate moments of disease and danger, maintains a constant and uninterrupted power over the minds of Barbarians. The disproportionate force of the same principle among rude and among civilized men, is ascribed by a common proverb to the gross ignorance of the former; but it may, with more propriety perhaps, be deduced from their precarious and unhappy manner of life, the continual dangers to which their existence is exposed, and the dreadful calamities in which the

Philosophic account of it.

²⁰ Diodorus Sicul. l. ii. Exod. chap. vi. Plin. l. xxx.

²¹ The Old Testament, passim.

²² Πάντες δὲ θεῶν χάρισι ἀνθρώποι — "All men stand in need of the gods." Hom. *Odyssey* iii.

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C H A P. whole society is too frequently involved". Even
 II. among polished nations, the power of reason and philosophy, however highly it may be extolled when the gentle current of life flows with placid tranquillity, always proves too feeble to resist the mountain torrent and the storm of winter. Under the pressure of sudden or inextricable calamity, all those, who are not more or less than men, have recourse to the immediate assistance of invisible powers; and in the splendid abodes of wealth and power, as well as in the American village or Tartar horde, the æra of a famine, a pestilence, or an earthquake, is marked by sincere expressions of faith, and commemorated by signal monuments of piety".

The great pillar of superstition, raised by the anxious passions of men, was fortified in Greece by a circumstance incidental to all nations at a certain stage of their political progress. There is a period when nations emerging from barbarity, but not yet corrupted by the narrow pursuits of avarice, not yet softened by the mean pleasures of luxury, or contracted by the dangerous refinements of a selfish philosophy, enjoy a peculiar sensibility of character, which exerts itself in the ardor of social affection, and strengthens, by a

²³ Δυσυχίας επιτασις και σωτηρίας απογυνωσις ευχη θεων. Schol. in Homer. Tum præcipuus votorum locus est, cum spei nullus est. Plin. l. viii c. 16.

²⁴ In most men, true religion itself must, from the nature of human passions, have the greatest, because an undivided, influence over the mind, in seasons of inextricable calamity.

thousand associations, their belief of invisible and intelligent powers. To men, thus disposed to wonder and to believe, whatever dazzles the imagination, announces the presence of a deity; dreams and celestial appearances are deemed sacred and infallible admonitions; the silence and thick shade of a forest fills the soul with religious awe; and persons, distinguished by justice and piety, easily persuade themselves and others, that, as the beloved favorites of heaven, they are frequently honored with holy inspirations, and sometimes indulged with the visible presence and happy intercourse of their Divine protectors²⁵. Not only the religion but the ancient language and manners of Greece, sufficiently attest the existence of this excessive sensibility, which, in those early times, gave an easy victory to the indulgent powers of fancy, over the severe dictates of reason.

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II.

The nature, the characters, and the occupations of the gods, were suggested by the lively feelings of an ardent, rather than by the regular invention of a cultivated, mind. These celestial beings were

The nature of the gods.

²⁵ Pausan. (in Arcad.) calls them ξῆνοι καὶ ὁμοτραπέζοι, guests and companions at the same table. Plutarch, in his Treatise on Music, cites as authorities Anticles and Iltros, two ancient authors, who wrote concerning the apparitions of the gods. All that has reached the present times respecting this curious subject, is collected in a dissertation of John Gottlob Nimptsch (Leipſig, 1720.), in which he treats of the number of the divinities who appeared most commonly to men; of the form under which they appeared; the usual time, and general causes, of their appearing, and the ordinary circumstances accompanying it. See also Mémoires de l'Académie, vol. ix. Mém. sur les Mœurs des Siècles Héroïques.

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C H A P. subject to the blind passions which govern unhappy
II. mortals. Their wants, as well as their desires, were similar to those of men. They required not the gross nourishment of meat and wine, but they had occasion to repair the waste of their ethereal bodies by nectar and ambrosia; and they delighted in the steam of the sacrifices, which equally gratified their senses and flattered their vanity²⁶. The refreshment of sleep was necessary to restore their exhausted strength²⁷, and with the addition of a superior, but limited degree of power, and wisdom, and goodness, the gods of the heroic ages were nothing more than immortal men.

What was wanting in the dignity and perfection, was supplied by the number of the gods²⁸. Homer only describes the principal and reigning divinities; but Hesiod, who gives the genealogical history of this fanciful hierarchy, makes the whole number amount to thirty thousand. Among these, every virtue had its protector, every quality of extensive power in human life had its patron, and every grove and mountain and river its favorite inha-

²⁶ These observations naturally result from Homer; but the doctrine of sacrifices, as expiations for crimes, so universally diffused over the ancient and modern world, would perhaps still merit the examination of an able divine.

²⁷ Mercury says to Calypso, he would not have fatigued himself by travelling over such a length of sea and land, without a very powerful reason. *Odyss.*

²⁸ *Fragilis et laboriosa, immortalitas in partes ista digessit, infirmitatibus suæ memor, ut portionibus quisquis coleret, quo maxime indigeret. Plin. ii. 7.*

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bitants. Twelve divinities ¹⁹ of superior rank presided over the active principles of the universe, and the leading virtues of the mind: but even these distinguished beings were subject to the unrelenting power of vengeance ²⁰ and the fates, "who pursue the crimes of men and gods, and never cease from their wrath till they have inflicted just punishment on the guilty sons of earth and heaven ²¹."

C H A P.
II.

The materials which fancy had created, poetry formed into beauty, and policy improved into use. The creed of the Greeks, thus adorned and enlarged, became the happiest antidote against the furious resentment, the savage cruelty, and the fierce spirit of sullen independence, which usually characterize the manners of Barbarians ²². Yet these dreadful passions sometimes forced their way through every mound which wisdom had erected in order to oppose their course. Laws sacred and profane were feeble barriers against the impetuosity of their rage. The black vengeance of the heart was exerted in deeds of horror. The death of an enemy could not satisfy their inhuman cruelty.

Particular
effects of
the Gre-
cian reli-
gion.

¹⁹ The Roman religion was mere plagiarism, so that Ennius might well translate two lines of an ancient Greek poet, which include the names of the principal divinities of Greece and Italy:

Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Jovi, Neptuneus, Vulcanus, Apollo.

ENNIUS apud Apuleium.

²⁰ *Nemesis*.

²¹ Hesiod. Theolog.

²² *Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer*

Negans jura sibi facta, nihil non arrogans armis — HORAT.
will be found the general character of all barbarous nations.

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C H A P. They burned with desire to drink his hated blood, II. to devour his quivering limbs, and to expose his mangled remains to indignities equally odious and abominable in the sight of gods and men". The powerful influence of religion was directed against the wild excesses of this sanguinary temper. The brave Tydeus lost for ever the protection of his adored Minerva by a single act of savage ferocity. Humanity was inculcated by every precept of reason, and enforced by the strongest motives of hope and fear. It was a firm article of belief, that hands stained with blood, even in the exercise of honorable war, were unworthy, till purified by lustration, to be employed in the most ordinary functions of sacred worship".

It would require a volume completely to illustrate the salutary effects of this ancient and venerable superstition, which was distinguished above most other false religions; by the uncommon merit of doing much good, without seemingly occasioning any considerable harm to society. The Grecian tenets, while they inculcated profound respect to the gods, tended not to break the spirit, or to repress the courage, of their warlike votaries. The ancient heroes addressed their heavenly protectors in an erect posture, with the unfeigned sincerity of manly freedom. They expected to avert the calamities threatened by the anger of their divinities, not by inflicting on themselves

" See *Iliad*, iv. ver. 25. *Iliad*, xxii. ver. 347. *Iliad*, xxiv. ver. 612.

" Homer, *passim*.

such tortures as could be acceptable only to the mean resentment of weak and wicked beings, but by repairing the wrongs which they had committed against their fellow-citizens, or compensating, by new attentions, for the neglect shown to the ceremonies of their national worship. In *their* estimation, the doing of injuries to men, and the omitting of prayer to the gods, were the principal causes of the Divine displeasure, the incurring of which, being justly considered as infinitely greater than all other misfortunes, they were solicitous to avert it, not only by an exact performance of external rites, but by a diligent practice of moral duties. The dangerous power of oracles, the abused privileges of asylums, the wild raptures of prophetic enthusiasm, the abominable ceremonies of the Bacchanalia, and the horrid practice of human sacrifice, circumstances which cover with deserved infamy the later periods of paganism, were all unknown to the good sense and purity of the heroic ages; nor is there to be discovered the smallest vestige of any of these wild or wicked inventions either in the writings of Homer, or of his contemporary Hesiod.

The amiable simplicity of their religious system was communicated to the civil and military institutions of the Greeks, to the laws of nations as well as to the regulations of internal policy, and to the various duties of domestic as well as of social life. The sentiments of natural reason, supported by the supposed sanction of Divine authority, generally directed the conduct of men in the wide

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C H A P. variety of these complicated relations; and from
II. one great and luminous principle, deeply impressed on the mind, there resulted an uniform system of unaffected propriety of conduct, the contemplation of which will always be agreeable to every taste that is not perverted by the false delicacy of artificial manners, or the illiberal prejudices of national vanity. In order to give the clearer explanation of the several parts of this beautiful system, we shall examine the political, the civil, and the domestic condition of the Greeks; that is, the relation of the governors to the governed, and of the governed to one another, whether considered as subjects of the same state, or as branches of the same family. We shall combine the effect of these relations with that of the ordinary occupations and favorite amusements of this celebrated people, and from the whole endeavour to deduce the general estimate of their virtues and defects, of their happiness and misery.

Political
 state of the
 Greeks
 during the
 heroic
 ages.

The common observation, that power follows property, though not altogether correct³⁵, affords perhaps the best succedaneum to written laws, for determining the real strength and influence of the different members of society. If we examine by this rule the policies of the heroic ages, we shall find that they deserve the title of republics, rather than that of monarchies. When a warlike tribe

³⁵ The same property possessed by one, or by a few, confers much greater political consideration and influence, than it would confer if diffused among the multitude.

C H A P.
II.
 sallied from its woods and mountains, to take possession of a more fertile territory, the soldiers fought and conquered, not for their leaders, but for themselves¹⁶. The land acquired by their united valor was considered as a common property. It was cultivated by the joint labor and assiduity of all the members of the tribe, who assembled at a public table, celebrated together their religious rites, and, at the end of harvest, received their due shares of the annual produce of the ground, for the maintenance of their respective families¹⁷. Superior opulence gave not to one a title to despise another, nor was there any distinction known among them, but what was occasioned by the difference of personal merit and abilities. This difference, however, had naturally raised a chief or leader to the head of every society; the frequent necessity of employing his valor, or his wisdom, rendered his merit more conspicuous and more useful; and his superior usefulness was rewarded, by the gratitude of his tribe, with a valuable portion of ground¹⁸, separated from the common property. This was cultivated, not by the hands of his martial followers, who labored only for the community, but by the captives taken in war, of whom a considerable number were always bestowed on the

¹⁶ The *Odyssey* furnishes innumerable proofs of the limited power of kings. Ulysses, on most occasions, puts himself on an equal footing with his followers. It is commonly decided by lot, whether he shall be one of those who undertake any adventure attended with fatigue and danger. *Odys.* passim.

¹⁷ *Isocrat.* in *Archidam.*

¹⁸ *Iliad*, l. xii. ver. 310.

CHAP. general¹⁹. Being accustomed to command in the field, and to direct the measures, as well as to decide the quarrels, of his associates, he naturally became the judge of their civil differences; and, as the peculiar favor of the gods always attended on superior virtue, he was also invested with the honorable office of presiding in their religious solemnities. These important functions of priest, judge, and general, which had naturally been conferred on the best and bravest character of each particular tribe, were, upon the union of several tribes into one state, or nation, conferred on the best and bravest of all the different leaders. Before the various states of Greece had united in a general confederacy, the resources derived from the domains appropriated to the prince (which, unless there was some particular reason to the contrary, were transmitted to his descendants), had enabled the several kings and leaders to extend their influence and authority. Their comparative power and splendor did not entirely arise from the merit of personal abilities, but was determined in part by the extent and value of their possessions: and Agamemnon was appointed to the command of combined Greece, as much on account of his superior opulence, as of his many princely qualities²⁰. But whether we examine the pre-eminence that Agamemnon enjoyed over the other

¹⁹ In the description of the shield of Achilles, Homer clearly distinguishes the domain of the king from the land of the community. *Iliad*, xviii. ver. 542.

²⁰ *Thucyd.* l. i.

princes of the confederacy, which is fully explained in the *Iliad*, or the authority with which each prince was invested in his own dominions, which is clearly illustrated in the *Odyssey*, or the influence of a warlike chief over the several members of his tribe, which we have already endeavoured to delineate, we shall every where discover the limited power of kings, and the mild moderation of mixed government. As in the general confederacy, the councils⁴¹ of princes controuled the resolves of the monarch, and the voice of the assembly⁴² was superior to that of the council; so in each particular kingdom, the decisions of the senate prevailed over the will of the prince, and the acknowledged majesty of the people⁴³ governed the decisions of the senate⁴⁴. If we descend still lower, we shall find the same distribution of power in every particular village⁴⁵, which afforded a picture, in miniature, of a kingdom, while a kingdom itself afforded a similar picture of the whole confederacy.

⁴¹ In matters of importance, Agamemnon is generally determined by the council of chiefs, many of whom, on various occasions, treat him with little respect.

⁴² It is referred to the general assembly, whether it would be better to return to Greece, or to prosecute the siege of Troy. *Iliad*, ii. ver. 110. See also *Arist.* *Ethic.* l. iii. c. v.

⁴³ Several of the nobles of Ithaca even aspired to the crown. *Odys.* 21.

⁴⁴ In the *Odyssey*, Telemachus threatens to appeal to the public assembly, of the injustice of the suitors, among whom were the principal nobles of Ithaca.

⁴⁵ *Plutarch* in *Theseo.* *Odys.* *ibid.*

C H A P.

II.

Their civil
regula-
tions.

The same simplicity which regulated the political system, maintained the civil rights of the Greeks. As the price of submitting to the restraints of society, a man was secured in the enjoyment of his life and property⁴⁶; his moveables were equally divided, at his death, among his descendants; and the unnatural right of primogeniture, which, in order to enrich the eldest son, reduces the rest of the family to want and misery, was altogether unknown to the equal spirit of the Grecian institutions⁴⁷. Causes respecting property were decided by the first magistrate, or by judges of delegated authority. The prosecution of murderers belonged to the relations of the deceased; they might accept a compensation in money for the loss which the family had sustained⁴⁸; but if this was not tendered them by the criminal, or if their resentment was too violent to admit of any such composition, they were entitled to the assistance of all the members of their tribe, who either punished the murderer by death, or compelled him to leave the society⁴⁹. These usages, doubtless, prove the ideas of the Greeks, concerning criminal jurisdiction, to have

⁴⁶ Iliad, xii. Pind. Pyth. Ode iv.

⁴⁷ Odyss. xiv. If there were no children, the nearest relations, by the father's side, divided the immoveable property: ἀποθνήσκων δὲ δια κτήσιν δατιόνται χηρώσαι. Hesiod. Theogon. The same observation is made by Homer, Iliad, v; but there is no mention of succession to land or moveable property.

⁴⁸ Iliad, ix. Ajax blames the obstinacy of Achilles, who refuses such compensation for an affront, as a man sometimes accepted for the murder of a son or a brother.

⁴⁹ There are examples of this in the 14th, 15th, and 23d Iliad.

been very rude and imperfect: But this disadvantage was in some measure compensated by their ignorance of those legal cruelties, which in civilized nations are too frequently exercised, under the specious pretence of justice. "In later times," says Thucydides, "punishments became more severe, but crimes were not, on this account, less frequent." The powerful or wealthy offender (he might have added) frequently eluded the vengeance of those severe laws; whereas in the heroic ages, there was not any respect of persons, princes themselves being subject to the same moderate penalties*, which were justly inflicted on their offending subjects.

CHAP.
II.

The perfection of civil and political institutions, which was produced in Greece by the influence of religion, is found in most countries to be proportional to their improvements in arts, and their attainments in knowledge; while the happy effects of domestic union are frequently most numerous and most considerable among the rudest and least cultivated nations. The reciprocal duties of the governor and governed, as well as the mutual obligations of subjects, are gradually unfolded and enlarged by the progressive ideas of utility; but the tender connexions of husband and wife, of father

Regulations respecting the duties of domestic life.

* Thus Midon, the brother of Ajax, was obliged to fly to Phylace, Il. xv. Patroclus, for a similar offence, took refuge with the father of Achilles, Il. 23. Pausanias (in Eliac.) gives examples of the same kind in two kings of the Ætolians; and these facts are agreeable to the nature of the kingly office in the heroic ages, as described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, l. ii. Hist. Rom.

C H A P. and son, of brothers and kinsmen, excite, without reflection, the warmest feelings of the heart, and at once inspire the affectionate sentiments of love and friendship, of kindness and gratitude. The dictates of nature alone sufficiently maintain the duties which correspond to the several relations of blood; her voice is strong and positive, in asserting *their* obligation; and there is greater danger that these sacred ties should be weakened, or perverted, by the artificial refinements of polished life, than that their influence should continue altogether unknown, or be feebly felt, in the early periods of society.

Agreeably to these observations, we find in the history of the heroic ages, the most interesting pictures of conjugal love, of parental affection, and of filial duty. These sentiments, suggested by nature, and confirmed by reason, were still farther strengthened by the precepts of religion; and their force, thus augmented, became so strong and irresistible, that it can scarcely be conceived by men, among whom fashion, and vanity, and interest, have usurped the place of more generous and manly principles.

The comforts of a family were anciently considered as equal to the benefits derived from social union. To be destitute of the one, was deemed no less miserable than to be deprived of the other. And the total baseness of a man's character was expressed by saying, that he deserved not to enjoy the rights of a citizen, the protection of a subject, or the happiness of domestic life ".

" Αφενταρ ἀδελφῆς ἀνετός ἐστὶ κτενος. *Iliad*, *passim*.

Marriage was a necessary step in order to attain this happiness, and the institution of marriage was ascribed by remote tradition to the bounty of the gods. The Greeks of the heroic ages, among whom the rights of weakness and beauty were as much respected as they afterwards were despised by their degenerate descendants, celebrated the conjugal union with all the pomp of religious festivity. The joyous band, carrying the nuptial torches, marched in pomp through the city, to the sound of the hymeneal song⁵²; the lustral waters were drawn from the sacred fountain Calliroe, and many revered ceremonies rendered the connexion of husband and wife equally respectable and binding⁵³.

C H A P.
II.
Marriage.

Adultery was considered as a crime of the blackest die, and is always mentioned with the same horror as murder. Persons guilty of these atrocious enormities purchased impunity⁵⁴, and more frequently escaped death, by voluntary banishment; but in many cases they were punished by the united vengeance of the tribe which had received the injury. Second nuptials were not absolutely forbidden; but so strong and sacred was the matrimonial tie, that even the death of one of the parties was scarcely thought sufficient to dissolve it; and the survivor, by entering into a new connexion, suffered a dimi-

⁵² *Iliad*, l. xxiii.

⁵³ *Thucydides*, l. ii. Meursius *Ferix Græcæ*, and the authors there cited.

⁵⁴ *Odysse*, viii.

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C H A P. nution of fame, and submitted to a considerable degradation of character".

II.

Rank of
women in
the heroic
ages.

Two circumstances chiefly have rendered it difficult to explain the rank and condition of women in the heroic ages. The Greek word denoting a wife, is borrowed from a quality which equally applies to a concubine, and the same term is used indifferently to express both. But the women who in ancient Greece submitted to the infamy of prostitution, were generally captives taken in war, who were reduced by the cruel right of arms to the miserable condition of servitude. Hence it has been erroneously inferred, that in ancient Greece, wives as well as concubines were the slaves of their husbands. This mistaken notion, it has been attempted to confirm, not only by insisting on the humiliating condition of the fair sex in the later ages of Greece, but by expressly asserting, that, in ancient times, they were purchased by their husbands". But this is to support one error by another. Before entering into the state of wedlock, it was customary for a man to make a mutual exchange of presents with his intended father-in-law. The Greeks had particular terms to express the present which he bestowed, as well as that which he received". The former, which has no corresponding term in the modern languages, is trans-

" Penelope was restrained from marrying a second husband :
αἰδομένην, εὐτην ποσειδος, δῆμιό τε φησιν. II. xv.

" Lord Kaimes's Sketches, Thomas sur la Condition des Femmes, etc.

" Ἐδνα.

lated by the more general word "price," which has given rise to the false notion of the purchase and servitude of women ; but the latter, which may with propriety be translated "dower", " was given as a provision for the wife, both during marriage and after its dissolution ", and was sufficient to deliver her from that supposed state of dependence on the husband , which never had any existence but in the imagination of the systematic writers of the present age.

C H A P.
II.

In the modern countries of Europe, women are generally excluded from the serious occupations of life, but admitted to an equal share in its gayest amusements. During the heroic ages, they were not absolutely debarred from the former, although it was impossible to associate their natural delicacy and timidity to the warlike labors and pleasures which formed the principal employments of their husbands. The intercourse between the sexes, therefore, was less frequent and general, than would suit the refined softness of modern manners.

The attention of women was chiefly confined to domestic cares, or to the practice of such arts as required neither strength ; nor courage, nor wisdom, but only the patient exertions of mechanical dexterity ". Our natural respect for the honor of the sex is offended at hearing them as much

Their occupations and amusements.

" Πρὸς.

" Odyss. ii. Telemachus says, that if his mother should be sent from the house, he would be obliged to return her dower to her father Icarius.

" Homer, passim.

C H A P. extolled for their skill in the labors of the loom ;
 H. as for their beauty and virtue ; but it deserves to be considered , that weaving and embroidery being , like all other arts , less extensively diffused in Greece than in improved commercial countries , were on this account more highly valued , and therefore better adapted to confer distinction on those who excelled in them. They were practised by ladies of the highest rank , and even by queens , who also thought it an honor to be intrusted with the education of their children , till they became fit for the society of their fathers ". Besides these employments , the women were permitted to join in celebration of religious rites and ceremonies , and many of them were consecrated to the service of particular divinities ". In the seasons of public festivity , they mixed more freely than on ordinary occasions in the society of the other sex. This was sometimes attended with such inconveniences as might naturally be expected to arise in consequence of the usual restraints imposed on their behaviour. " The beautiful Polymela , " says Homer " , " dancing in the chorus of Diana , was " embraced by Mercury ; but she had no sooner " brought forth a son , than one of the principal " citizens offered her his hand. " The institutions of the heroic ages promoted , with admirable

" Thus , Thetis educated Achilles. Hesiod says poetically , that in the age of silver , the children continued , during an infancy of an hundred years , under the care of their mothers.

" Theano was priestess of Vulcan , etc. Iliad.

" Iliad , xvi.

propriety ; the modest reserve of women , while they permitted not one excusable error to cover an amiable character with indelible infamy. The crime of having too tender an heart was not deemed inexcusable ; and , as the consequences of female weakness were imputed to the affectionate ardor of some amorous divinity , they were so far from obscuring the charms of beauty , that they adorned it with new graces and more conspicuous splendor.

The simplicity of the ancient Greeks was equally remote from the cruel tyranny of savages , which condemns women to servitude , and the interested refinement of luxury and vice , which regards them as mere instruments of pleasure. The natural equality between the sexes suggested by the voice of sentiment , asserted by the dictates of reason , and confirmed by the precepts of religion , produced the most delicate affections that can inspire a susceptible heart : hence those moving scenes so admirably delineated by Homer , which retrace the most perfect image of domestic felicity ; hence those pleasing pains , those anxious felicities of tenderness and love , which frequently degenerate into melancholy presages of the loss of an union to which nothing was wanting but that it should prove immortal .

The sentiments of parental affection were proportionably strong and ardent with those of conjugal love. The mutual tenderness of the husband

C H A P.
II

Conjugal
love.

Parental
affection.

* See the interview of Hector and Andromache , and other examples. *Iliad* , ix. and *Odysse* , vi.

C H A P. and wife was communicated to their offspring; while
II. the father viewed in his child the charms of its mother, and the mother perceived in it the manly graces of its father. Independently of the delicacy of sentiments, there are, doubtless, in all countries, savage and civilized, innumerable instances of paternal kindness, which, indeed, is the most simple and natural expansion of self-love. But in the heroic ages alone, we find sincere and complete returns of filial duty. In the lowest state of savage life men are, for the most part, little acquainted with this respectful affection: they fear and obey, but without any mixture of love, those who are wiser and stronger than themselves. When they become wise and strong in their turn, they disregard the trembling hand that reared their tender years, or if any faint emotions of gratitude are feebly felt; they discover them in the preposterous kindness of delivering their aged parents from what appears to their own juvenile impatience the wretched load of life⁶⁵. Among nations, on the other hand, who are sunk in the corruptions incident to excessive luxury and refinement, the ties of nature are perverted or effaced; the young despise the admonitions, and avoid the company of the aged; and the duties, as well as the business of society, are degraded into a miserable traffic of interest or pleasure. But as the Greeks had emerged from the melancholy gloom of the first situation, and had not yet declined into the foul

Duties of
children.

⁶⁵ Voyage du Pere Charlevoix. *Lastran Mœurs des Sauvages.*

vapors of the second, they displayed the meridian C H A P.
splendor of the domestic virtues". The reve- II.
rence of children for their parents approached their
veneration for the gods. The most violent and
impetuous heroes submitted, without reluctance,
to the severest dictates of paternal authority. In
such delicate concerns as might seem to affect
themselves alone, they relinquished their favorite
inclinations, disavowed any will of their own, and
committed their dearest concerns to the experi-
enced wisdom and known goodness of their fathers.
The amiable expressions of filial respect were ex-
tended into a more general sentiment of regard for
the infirm and aged. Even among brothers who
were nearly of the same age, the younger was
obliged to yield in every instance to the elder;
and it was an acknowledged principle of religion,
that the Furies defended, by their stern authority,
the sacred rights of superior years".

The occupations of the ancient Greeks, whe-
ther of war or peace, were, for the most part,
directed by the same sacred influence which go-
vernied their behaviour in the various relations of
domestic and social life. War was their principal
employment; and in the field they both displayed
their noblest qualities, and discovered the greatest
defects of their character. They were unacquainted

Occupations of the Greeks during the heroic ages.
State of the military art among them.

" There is, perhaps, no other language that can express, without a circumlocution, what the Greeks meant by *θυσια*, the obligations of children to repay the maintenance, the education, and the tender cares of their parents.

" *Περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας*. Homer, *passim*.

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C H A P. with those disciplined evolutions which give harmony and concert to numerous bodies of men, and enable whole armies to move with the activity and address of single combatants. What was wanting in skill they supplied by courage. They marched to the field in a deep phalanx, rushed impetuously to the attack, and bravely closed with their enemies. Each warrior was firmly buckled with his antagonist, and compelled by necessity to the same exertions of valor, as if the fortune of the day had depended upon his single arm. Their principal weapon was the spear resembling the Roman pilum, which, thrown by the nervous and well directed vigor of a steady hand, often penetrated the firmest shields and bucklers. When they missed their aim, or when the stroke proved ineffectual through want of force, they drew their swords, and, summoning their utmost resolution, darted impetuously on the foe. This mode of war was common to the soldiers and generals, the latter being as much distinguished in the day of action by their strength and courage, as by their skill and conduct. The Greeks had bows, and slings, and darts, intended for the practice of distant hostility, but the use of these weapons, which were much employed in the military pastimes of the heroic ages, was confined in the field to warriors of inferior renown²². Their defensive armour was remarkably complete: a bright

²² Teucer is more than once upbraided in the *Iliad* as a vain archer.

helmet,

helmet, adorned with plumes, covered the head and face, a firm corset defended the breast, greaves of brass descended to the feet, and an ample shield loosely attached to the shoulders turned in all directions, and opposed its firm resistance to every hostile assault.

H A P.
II.

The close compact combats of the Greeks were fitted to excite the most furious passions of the heart, and to embitter national animosity by personal hatred and revenge. A battle consisted of so many duels, which exasperated to the utmost the hostility of the contending parties; each soldier knew the antagonist from whom he had received, or on whom he had inflicted the severest injuries. They fought with all the keenness of resentment, and often sullied the honors of victory by those licentious cruelties which are too natural to men in the giddy moment of triumph over a detested adversary.

The effect
of their
military
regula-
tions on
manners.

It is partly to this unfortunate circumstance, and partly to the ancient mode of appropriating the warlike plunder to those who first acquired it, that we are to ascribe the shocking enormities which were sometimes committed by the bravest and most generous of the Grecian chiefs.

That the severities exercised towards the conquered proceeded not from the barbarism of the age, and an ignorance of the rights of humanity, is plain from the observances deemed necessary, in order to obtain the favor of the gods, in carrying on any military expedition, or in enjoying the fruits of victory. These observances, which were

Laws of
war.

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C H A P. confirmed by the laws of nations among the
II. Greeks, were practised before the commencement of hostilities, during their continuance, and after their conclusion. Before any war could be lawfully undertaken, it was necessary to dispatch ambassadors, who might explain the injury that had been done, demand immediate and complete satisfaction, and if this was refused, denounce in form the resolution of their community, to prosecute its claim by force of arms⁶⁹. After they had begun to execute their fatal purpose, the characters of heralds, those sacred ministers of kings, were equally respected by friends and foes. They travelled in safety through the midst of embattled hosts, proclaimed to the silent warriors the commissions with which they were intrusted, or demanded a truce for burying the dead, which could not be refused without the most enormous impiety⁷⁰. The use of poisoned weapons⁷¹ was forbidden, under pain of the divine displeasure. It was agreeable to the will of the gods that the life should be spared, when a sufficient ransom was promised⁷². And after a treaty of peace was concluded between hostile nations, without any apparent ratification but the honor of the contracting parties, the perfidious wretches who betrayed the sanctity of their engagements, were devoted, amidst

⁶⁹ See chap. i. p. 43.

⁷⁰ Homer, *passim*.

⁷¹ Ilius refused Ulysses poisoned arrows, since he revered the immortal gods,

Εὐνὴν ποσειδάωνος ὄντος ἀνὰ στήθεσσι.

Odys.

⁷² Iliad, i. *Iliad*, vi. 24.

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solemn sacrifices and libations, to the fury of the terrible goddesses ⁷⁵.

From the arts of peace, the Greeks had acquired the necessaries, and procured the accommodations, but had not obtained the luxuries of life. Pasturage and agriculture supplied them with the most indispensable articles of food, and with the principal materials of clothing. The implements of husbandry were extremely imperfect; the plough itself, the most useful of them all, being composed entirely of wood ⁷⁶, which arose rather from the scarcity of iron, than from any defect of mechanical ingenuity ⁷⁷. They employed, in the time of Hesiod, the invention of shears, for depriving the sheep of their wool, having formerly waited the season of its annual separation by nature ⁷⁸. Barley was the principal produce of their fields, and furnished the ordinary food both of men and of horses. The invention of mills was unknown, and the grain underwent several tedious operations, in order to facilitate the bruising of it between two large stones with the hand ⁷⁹. Although the Greeks cultivated the olive, they were unacquainted with the benefit derived from the fruit of this plant, so well adapted to cheer the melancholy gloom of night ⁸⁰. The Grecian soil

II.

Arts of
peace.

State of
agricul-
ture.

⁷⁵ Iliad, iii. ⁷⁶ Hesiod, Oper. et Dies. ⁷⁷ Homer, passim.

⁷⁸ Hesiod, ibid.

⁷⁹ Plin. l. xviii. c. xiv.

⁸⁰ The Greeks had not discovered any other contrivance for that purpose, than the burning of great fires of wood: The torches mentioned by Homer consisted of branches of any resinous tree, split at the end, and lighted at the fire. Odyss. l. vi. ver. 307. l. xviii. ver. 306. et ver. 309.

CHAP. II. was naturally favorable to the grape; but the long and operose process by which the juice of it was separated and prepared, rendered wine scarce and dear⁷⁹.

Mechanic arts.

Of the mechanic arts, weaving was the best understood; yet this, as well as all the other professions which are qualified by the appellation of sedentary, were practised by the Greeks standing upright⁸⁰; which seems to indicate an imperfect state of improvement. The hatchet, wimble, plane, and level, are the tools mentioned by Homer, who appears to have been unacquainted with the saw, the square, and the compass⁸¹. The art of cutting marble, which afterwards furnished Grecian ingenuity with the materials of those inimitable productions which are still the wonder of the world, was as yet undiscovered; nor did the polished lustre of this valuable stone adorn the habitations of the Greeks⁸².

Fine arts. Architecture.

Homer mentions not the orders of architecture, which were invented in a later age; and pillars are the only ornaments assigned to the edifices which he describes. The houses of the great were surrounded by a wall, that consisted of two floors; the lower of which was distributed into four apartments, which we have translated by the names of

⁷⁹ *Odys.* l. vii. ver. 122.

⁸⁰ *Eustach.* in *Iliad.* l. ver. 31.

⁸¹ *Odys.* l. v. ver. 234, etc.

⁸² In the palace of Alcinous, which shone with gold, silver, brass, and amber, there is no mention of marble. *Odys.* l. iv. ver. 72.

hall", portico, antichamber, and bedchamber, which expresses the same relative situation, rather than any other point of resemblance. The roofs were flat, and the doors opened towards the surrounding wall, while the gates of the wall itself opened towards the road or street". The invention of enamelling metals had been cultivated with singular success: and though painting, properly so called, was rude and unformed during the age of Homer, the genius of the divine poet has described the rudiments of his kindred art with such graces as would adorn "its most refined state of

C H A P.

II.

Painting.

"Ἡ τὰς ἑνὸς; ἐκὸς περὶ ὁ πυλαί, μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐρικρινὸν ἀνὰ, μετὰ ἄν, αἰθέσσα, ὁ προδομοί, καὶ θαλαμὸς. Pollux Onomast.

"Odyss. l. i. ver. 441.

"The nobler kinds of painting are all illustrated in the shield of Achilles; and each picture discovers a wonderful degree of *invention*, *expression*, and *composition*. Iliad, xviii. Perrault and Terraillon, who thought it impossible to place so many pictures in the circumference of a shield, were answered by Boivin, who supposed a great many concentric circles. This opinion was adopted by Pope, who pretends that all the branches of painting, even aerial perspective, may be found in Homer's shield. "That he was no stranger to aerial perspective, appears from his expressly marking the distance from "object to object," etc. But this observation only proves that Pope, who practised painting, was little acquainted with the theory of that art; since aerial perspective has nothing to do with the diminution of objects in proportion to their distance, and relates entirely to the changing and weakening of colors, according to the condition of the medium through which they are seen. The objections of Perrault and Terraillon, and the concentric circles of Boivin, are equally frivolous. The shield of Homer contains, in fact, but ten pictures. The enumeration by the particles *μὲν* and *καὶ* fixes the number. But the poet not only describes these ten pictures actually represented on the shield, but also mentions their antecedents and consequents. This is the chief superiority of poetical imitation above painting, that it can describe, in a few pages, what many galleries of pictures could not represent. But of this more hereafter.

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C H A P. perfection. Music was much practised among the
II. early Greeks. It was not of the learned kind, and
Music. therefore the better adapted to touch the heart. The effects ascribed to it are wonderful, but not incredible, because the ancient music was not merely an agreeable succession of melodious, unmeaning sounds, but an imitation and a heightening of the simple, natural, and pathetic tones and cadences of a beautiful and expressive language."

Sciences. In the heroic ages men had neither leisure nor inclination to attend to the speculative sciences. All the knowledge that they possessed or esteemed was of the practical kind. From arithmetic they learned such simple calculations as suited the narrow sphere of their transactions. Astronomy taught them to observe the constellations most necessary to direct the adventurous course of the mariner; but their navigation was still so imperfect that they seldom abandoned the coasts; and the only stars mentioned by Homer are the Great and Little Bear, the Pleiades, the Hyades, Orion, and the Dog Star. The metaphysics, ethics, and politics of the ancient Greeks have been explained under the article of religion, from which they were originally derived, and with which they long continued to be inseparably connected. The main objects proposed in the education of the young warriors, were, that they should learn to excel in the military exercises of the age, especially those of

**Educa-
tion.**

"Odyss. iii. ver. 267, et passim. This subject will be treated fully hereafter.

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throwing the lance and of driving the chariot, ^{C H A P} and to command the attention of the senate, or ^{II} assembly, by delivering their opinion in a perspicuous, elegant, and manly style".

It was not only in the council and in the field that these superior accomplishments solicited and obtained their well-merited rewards. Each community presented, in time of peace, the picture of a large family. The Greeks lived in continual society with their equals, enjoyed common pleasures and amusements, and had daily opportunities of displaying their useful talents in the sight of their fellow-citizens. The frequent disputes between individuals occasioned litigations and trials, which furnished employment for the eloquence and abilities of men, in the necessary defence of their friends. The funeral games, and those celebrated in commemoration of several important events, both of a civil and sacred kind, opened a continual source of entertainment. There the young and vigorous contended in the rapid race; wielded the massy cæstus or ponderous quoit; and exerted equal efforts of strength and skill in the other manly exercises which confirm the vigor of the body, and the fortitude of the mind. Nor were the aged and infirm allowed to languish for want of proper objects to rouse their emulation, to flatter their pride, and to employ their remaining activity. It belonged to them to offer their wise counsels, to interpose their respected authority,

Ordinary amusements of the Greeks during the heroic ages.

* Μυθῶν τε ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ ἐποικίᾳ περικύττοισι τε ἐργασίᾳ.

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CHAP. and to decide the quarrels, as well as to determine the merit, of the young candidates for fame. **12.** The applause and rewards bestowed on him whose counsels and decisions were most generally approved, consoled the weakness of his declining years, while his rivals, though disappointed for the present, expected, on some future occasion, to obtain the same honorable marks of the public esteem¹¹.

Estimate of
the Grecian
manners and
character
during the
heroic
ages.

After this general review of the Grecian manners and institutions, should we endeavour to estimate their value, they would probably rise in our esteem, by being compared, either with the rude customs of savage life, or with the artificial refinements of polished society. The Greeks had advanced beyond that uniform insipidity of deportment, that sullen ferocity of manners, and that hardened insensibility of heart, which universally characterize the savage state. They still possessed, however, that patient intrepidity, that noble spirit of independence, that ardent attachment to their friends, and that generous contempt of pain and danger and death, which render the description of the wild tribes of America so interesting to a philosophic mind. Of two principal enjoyments of life, study and conversation, they were little acquainted, indeed, with the consolations and pleasure of the first, the want of which was compensated by the sincerity, the confidence, the charms of the second. Their social affections were less comprehensive in

¹¹ Iliad, xviii. Ibid, xxiii.

their objects, but more powerful in their effects, than those of polished nations. A generous chief rushes to certain death, to revenge the cause of his friend; yet refuses to the prayers of an aged parent the melancholy consolation of interring the remains of his favorite son; till the corresponding image of his own father strikes his mind, and at once melts him to pity". The imaginary wants and artificial passions which are so necessary to urge the hand of industry, and to vary the pursuits of men, in improved commercial societies, were supplied to the Greeks by that excessive sensibility, which interested them so deeply in the affairs of their community, their tribe, their family, and their friends, and which connected them by the feelings of gratitude even with the inanimate objects of nature. As they were not acquainted with the same diversity of employments, so neither were they fatigued with the same giddy round of dissipated pleasures which augment the splendid misery of later times. Though ignorant of innumerable arts which adorn the present age, they had discovered one of inestimable value, to render the great duties of life its most entertaining amusement. It will not, perhaps, be easy to point out a nation who united a more complete subordination to established authority with a higher sense of personal independence, and a more respectful regard to the dictates of religion with a more ardent spirit of martial enterprise. The

" Iliad, xxiv.

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C H A P. II. generous equality of their political establishments, and their imagined intercourse with the gods, conspired to raise them to a certain elevation of character which will be for ever remembered and admired. This character was rendered permanent, in Sparta, by the famous laws commonly ascribed to the invention of Lycurgus, but which, as will appear in the subsequent chapter, were almost exact copies of the customs and institutions that universally prevailed in Greece during the heroic ages.

C H A P. III.

Distracted State of Greece, — The Heracleids conduct the Dorians into Peloponnesus. — Divide their Conquests in that Peninsula. — The Eolic, Ionic, and Doric Migrations. — Establishment of Colonies in Thrace, Macedon, Africa, and Magna Græcia. — Influence of the Ionic Colonies in Asia on the Affairs of the Mother Country. — The Abolition of Monarchy in Greece. — New Disorders in that Country. — Four institutions which tended to remove them. — The Amphictyonic Council. — The Oracle of Delphi. — The Olympic Games. — The Spartan Laws.

GREECE triumphed over Troy, but it was a melancholy triumph. The calamities of war were followed by disasters at sea, by discord among the chiefs, by ruin to the confederacy; yet these evils were less afflicting than the intestine animosities and sedition excited by the licence of the people, and fomented by the ambition of the nobles during the long and unfortunate absence of their kings. The victorious Agamemnon had scarce set foot on his native land, when he was cut off by an adulterous spouse and a perfidious assassin¹. His son Orestes found protection in Athens against the resentment of an usurper. In

C H A P.
III.

State of
Greece
after the
Trojan
war.

¹ Odyss. l. i. ver. 29.

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C H A P. the eighth year of his exile he returned with his
III. partisans, and took just vengeance on the abominable
 Egysheus and Clytemnestra^a. He reigned in Argos, but with far less glory than his father; nor did that kingdom ever thenceforth assume its ancient pre-eminence.

Weakness
of that
country
during
the four
succeeding
centuries.
From A. C.
1184 till
776.

The wanderings and woes of Ulysses are too well known to be described^b. His patient fortitude regained the kingdom of Ithaca, but not without wading through the blood of his most illustrious subjects^c. If history minutely recorded the domestic feuds which prevailed in other states, it would probably exhibit a disgusting picture of fraud and cruelty; and a continual repetition of similar crimes and calamities would equally fatigue the attention, and offend the humanity; of the modern reader. But though it would be neither entertaining nor useful to describe the particular and transitory consequences of these disorders, it is of importance to remark their general and lasting tendency to prolong the weakness of Greece; whose obscure transactions, during the four following centuries, ill correspond with the splendor of the Trojan, or even of the Argonautic, expedition.

History of
that period
obscure.

The history of this long period is very confusedly and imperfectly related by ancient authors, and the chronology is throughout very inaccurately ascertained; yet such events as are either interesting in themselves, or had any permanent influence on the

^a Odyss. l. iii. ver. 195. and ver. 305, et seq.

^b Odyss. passim.

^c Odyss. l. xxii. ver. 290, et seq.

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memorable ages of Greece, which form the subject of the present work, may be clearly explained, and reduced to a narrow compass. In order to preserve an unbroken narrative, we must consider three series of events, which naturally followed each other, and which all tended to the same goal. In this view, we shall first examine the migrations of different tribes or communities within the narrow bounds of Greece; secondly, the establishment of new colonies in many distant parts of Europe as well as of Asia and Africa; and thirdly, the internal changes produced in the several states, by their adopting, almost universally, the republican, instead of the monarchical, form of government. In the fluctuation of these commotions we must, then, seek for the seeds of order and stability, and endeavour to trace, amidst extensive migrations, general revolutions, and unceasing hostilities, the origin and improvement of those singular institutions which tended to unite, to polish, and to adorn the scattered and still spreading branches of the Grecian race through every part of the world.

The migrations, which soon followed the Trojan expedition, are mentioned but not explained by historians. Their general cause may be discovered in Homer, whose poems, no less instructive than agreeable, can alone enable us to travel with equal security and pleasure in the dark regions of Grecian antiquity. Domestic dissension, and, still more, the unsettled tenure of landed property, as described

C H A P.

III.

Division of
the subject.

Migra-
tions of the
Hellenic
tribes or
communi-
ties

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CHAP. by that immortal poet, naturally engaged the
 III. Grecian tribes, notwithstanding their acquaintance
 with agriculture, often to change their respective
 habitations. The idea of a separate property in
 land is the principal tie which binds men to parti-
 cular districts. The avarice of individuals is un-
 willing to relinquish the fields, which it has been
 the great object of their industry to cultivate and
 to adorn, and their pride is averse to a separation
 from their hereditary establishments. These pas-
 sions, which cover the black heaths and inhospitable
 mountains of the north with fair and populous
 cities, while far more inviting regions of the earth
 still remain destitute of inhabitants, could not have
 much influence on a people, who regarded land as
 the property of the public, rather than of individuals.
 In such a nation, men are connected with the territory
 which they inhabit, only as members of a particular
 community, and when exposed to any slight incon-
 venience at home, or allured by fairer prospects
 from abroad, they issue forth with one accord to
 acquire, by their united valor, more secure or more
 agreeable settlements. Governed by motives of this
 kind, a tribe of Bœotians, soon after the Trojan war,
 seized the rich vale of Thessalian Arné. The same
 restless spirit urged a warlike band of Thessalians
 to quit the seats of their ancestors. The new emi-
 grants poured down with irresistible violence on
 the unprepared Bœotians, who were thus reluc-
 tantly compelled, sixty years after the taking of

in the
 north of
 Greece.
 A. C. 1124.

Troy, to rejoin their brethren in the ancient kingdom of Cadmus ⁶.

Twenty years after this event, a more extensive migration totally changed the affairs of the Peloponnesus; and, in its consequences, gave new inhabitants to the whole western coast of Asia Minor. The rival families of Perseus and Pelops anciently contended for the dominion of the Grecian peninsula. The fortune of the Pelopidæ prevailed; but their superiority led them rather to persecute, than to forgive, their enemies. The descendants and partisans of the great Hercules, the most illustrious hero of the Perseid line, were divested of their possessions, and driven into banishment. The exiles were first received by the Athenians, whose more humane, or more enlarged policy, rendered Attica, ever since the reign of Theseus, the ordinary resource of the miserable ⁷. Their leader Hyllus was afterwards adopted by Epalius, the aged king of Doris; and the death of their benefactor soon made the Heracleidæ masters of that mountainous province ⁸. But the wilds of Oeta and Parnassus were little fitted to satisfy men, whose ancestors had enjoyed far more valuable possessions. Their natural ambition was long repressed by the growing greatness of the Pelopidæ, and the glory of Agamemnon. After the unexpected disasters of that prince, they twice attempted, unsuccessfully, to break through the Corinthian isthmus, and to

C H A P.

III.

The descendants of Hercules conducted the Dorians into the Peloponnesus. A. C. 1104.

⁶ Thucyd. l. i. p. 9 and 10. Diodor. l. iv. Strabo, l. ix. p. 630. Pausan. l. ix. c. xh.

⁷ Lyfias Orat. Funeb.

⁸ Strabo, l. ix. p. 427.

C H A P. recover their ancient dominion in Argos and Lacedæmon.
III.

Their auxiliaries in that enterprise.

They take possession of five provinces in that peninsula.

Instructed by past miscarriages, Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, descendants in the fifth degree from Hercules, finally abandoned the hopeless design of entering the Peloponnesus by land. But determining to use every exertion for regaining their hereditary establishments, they set themselves, with great industry, to prepare transports in a convenient harbour, at the northern extremity of the Corinthian gulph, which, in consequence of this transaction, received, and thenceforth retained, the name of Naupactus. The warlike and rapacious Ætolians, whose leader Oxylus was nearly related to the family of Hercules, readily assisted their labors, with a view to share the booty that might accrue from the expedition. The Dorians, who inhabited the neighbourhood of mount Pindus, cheerfully deserted the gloomy solitude of their woods, in order to seek possessions in a more agreeable and better cultivated country. Animated by these reinforcements, the Heracleidæ redoubled their diligence. All necessary preparations were made for the invasion; yet their confidence in arms excluded not the use of artifice. By secret intrigues they gained a party in Lacedæmon; and, before setting sail, they prudently detached a body of light armed troops, whose appearance at the Isthmus drew the strength of the enemy towards that quarter". Meanwhile their armament was

⁹ Herodot. l. ix. c. xxvi. Apollodor. l. iii. c. v. et vi.

¹⁰ Pausan. l. ii. c. xviii.

carried

carried by a favorable gale towards the eastern coast of Peloponnesus. The Heracleidæ landed their followers without opposition, and assailed the defenceless territories, to which they had long laid claim, comprehending the whole peninsula, except the central province of Arcadia, and the maritime district of Achaia. The five other provinces were conquered at the same time, though by different means. Laconia was betrayed to the invaders¹¹. Argos acknowledged their authority; Corinth, Elis, and Messenia submitted to their arms. The revolution was complete, and effected with little bloodshed, but not without great oppression of the ancient inhabitants, many of whom emigrated, and many were reduced to slavery¹².

C H A P.
III.
A. C. 1104

The Heracleidæ, agreeably to the custom of that age, divided their new acquisitions by lot. The kingdom of Argos fell to the share of Temenus; Cresphontes obtained Messenia; and, as Aristodemus then happened to die, Laconia was set apart for his infant sons, the twin-brothers, Eurysthene and Procles. Corinth was bestowed on their kinsman Aletes; and Elis given to Oxylus, their brave Ætolian ally¹³. This distribution, however, referred only to the royal dignity, then extremely limited, and to an appropriated domain to the several princes in their respective allotments. The rest of the territory was divided among the warlike

Division of
their con-
quests.

¹¹ Strabo, l. viii. p. 365.

¹² Herodot. l. vi. c. lii. Polyb. l. ii. p. 178. Strabo, l. viii. p. 363. Pausan. Argolic. et Iliacrat. Panathen.

¹³ Pausan. ibid.

C H A P. Dorians and Ætolians; who had conquered for themselves, not for their leaders¹⁴; and who, having over-run, without opposition, the finest provinces of the Peloponnesus, could not willingly return to lead a life of hardship and misery on their native mountains.

Fate of the expelled princes of those countries.

Before this important revolution, Argos and Lacedæmon were subject to Tisamenus, grandson of Agamemnon; Messenia was governed by Melanthus, a descendant of the celebrated Nestor. These princes had not so far degenerated from the glory of their ancestors, as to submit to become subjects in the countries where they had long reigned. On the first false alarm of invasion occasioned by the appearance of light troops at the Isthmus, Tisamenus and Melanthus had taken the field with the flower of the Argive and Messenian nations. But while they prepared to repel the expected inroads from the north, they received the melancholy intelligence that their kingdoms had been attacked on another side, on which they thought them secure. Instead of returning southward to dispossess the Heracleidæ, an enterprise too daring to afford any prospect of success, Tisamenus turned his arms against the Ionians, who inhabited the southern shore of the Corinthian gulph. An obstinate battle was fought, which proved fatal to Tisamenus; but his followers obtained a decisive victory, and, having expelled or enslaved the ancient inhabitants, took¹⁵ possession

The followers of Tisamenus conquer Achaia.

¹⁴ Isocrat. in Archidam.

¹⁵ Pausan. et Strabo, *ibid.*

of that valuable province, so famous in later times under the name of Achaia. Melanthus enjoyed better fortune. Accompanied by his faithful Messenians, he resorted to Attica, then engaged in war with the neighbouring Kingdom of Bœotia. The Bœotian prince proposed to decide the contest by single combat. Thymætes, though descended from the heroic Theseus, declined the challenge. Melanthus accepted it, prevailed in the conflict, and the sceptre of the deposed Thymætes was his reward ¹⁶.

C H A P.
III.
Melanthus becomes king of Attica.

The fermentation occasioned in Greece by so many expulsions and migrations, expanded itself through the islands and coasts of Asia Minor. Many Peloponnesian fugitives, who beheld with indignation the calamities inflicted on their country, flocked to the standard of Penthilus ¹⁷, a younger brother of Tisamenus, who had taken refuge in Eubœa. Others followed the banners of Cleues and Malaus ¹⁸, also descendants of Agamemnon. The partisans of all these princes having unsuccessfully traversed the northern parts of Greece in quest of new settlements, finally yielded to the dictates of their enterprising spirit, crossed the Hellespont eighty-eight years after the taking of Troy, and established themselves along the shore of the ancient kingdom of Priam. They gradually diffused their colonies from Cyzicus on the Propontis to the mouth of the river Hermus ¹⁹; which

The Eolio migration.
A. C. 1096.

¹⁶ Strabo, l. ix. p. 393. Herodot. l. v. c. lxxv.

¹⁷ Strabo, l. ix. p. 402.

¹⁸ Idem, l. xiii. p. 582, et seq.

¹⁹ Idem, *ibid.* et Herodot. l. i. c. cli.

C H A P. delightful country, together with the isle of Lesbos, III. thenceforth received the name of Eolis or Eolia, to denote that its inhabitants belonged to the Eolian branch of the Hellenic race ²⁰.

Rivalship
between
the Ioni-
ans and
Dorians.

A. C. 1089.

Codrus
devotes
himself to
death for
his coun-
try.

Consequences still more important resulted from the expulsion of the Achæans by the followers of Tisamenes. The ancient inhabitants of Achaia, being themselves Ionians, took refuge with their kinsmen in Attica. The Messenian fugitives under Melanthus had sought protection in the same country. The Athenians readily accepted these new accessions of strength, being inspired with a well founded jealousy of the Dorian conquerors of Peloponnesus, whose ambition early produced that memorable rivalry between the Doric and Ionic race, which subsisted to the latest times of the Grecian republics ²¹. In the reign of Codrus, son of Melanthus, the Dorians had already encroached on the Athenian frontier, and seized the territory of Megara, on the northern coast of the Saronic gulph ²². Issuing from their strong holds in that rocky district, from which it was long impossible to dislodge them, they harassed the Athenians in a cruel war, concerning which a superstitious rumor prevailed, that they should finally remain conquerors, provided they abstained from injuring the person of the Athenian king. Codrus, hearing the report, was inspired with the spirit of heroism congenial to his family. Disguising himself in the habit of a peasant, he proceeded to the quarters of

²⁰ Herodot. l. i. c. cli.

²¹ Herodot. et Thucydid. passim.

²² Strabo, l. ix. p. 393.

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the enemy; insulted a Dorian soldier; a combat ensued; Codrus fell ²¹, his body was recognised; and the superstitious Peloponnesians, now despairing of success, suspended their hostilities. The inimitable merit of a prince, who had devoted himself to death for the safety of his country, furnished the Athenians with a pretence for abolishing the royal authority. None of the human race, they declared, was worthy to succeed Codrus; and none but Jupiter should thenceforth reign in Athens ²². Medon, the eldest son of that admired prince, was appointed first magistrate of the republic, under the humbler title of archon. His brothers Neleus and Androclus, probably dissatisfied with these transactions, determined to leave their country. Their design was approved by the Achæan and Messenian refugees, and by many Athenian citizens, who complained that Attica was too narrow and barren to maintain the increasing numbers of its inhabitants. The restless spirits in Phocis, Bœotia, and other neighbouring provinces, eagerly joined the emigrants. They sailed to Asia Minor, expelled the ancient inhabitants, a mixed race of Lydians, Carians, and Pelasgi, and seized the central and most beautiful portion of the Asiatic coast ²³. Their colonies were gradually diffused from the banks of the Hermus to the promontory of Posideion. They afterwards took possession of Chios and Samos; and all these

C H A P.
III.

A. C. 1068.
Royalty
abolished
in Athens.

The Ionic
migration.
A. C. 1055.

²¹ Pausan. l. vii. c. xxv. Justin. l. ii.

²² Pausan. l. vii. c. ii.

²³ Herodot. l. i. c. cxlii.

C H A P. countries were united by the common name of
 III. Ionia, to denote that the Ionians composed the
 most numerous division of the colony ²⁶.

Greek co-
 lonies estab-
 lished in
 Macedon,
 Thrace,
 Africa,
 Magna
 Græcia,
 &c.

During the same turbulent ages, intestine sedi-
 tion, foreign invasion, or the restless spirit of ad-
 venture and rapine, occasioned other important
 extensions of Grecian colonization. The most
 numerous colonies occupied the isles of the Ionian
 and Ægean seas, the southern coast of Italy almost
 intersected by the former, and the winding shores
 of Asia Minor ²⁷ so beautifully diversified by the
 latter. The larger islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and
 Cyprus, were very anciently planted by Greeks.
 While the Hellenic stock pushed forth these vigor-
 ous shoots towards the east and west, very consid-
 erable branches extended towards the north and
 south. The maritime parts of Epirus, Macedo-
 nia, and Thrace, themselves abounding in Greek
 settlements, poured forth new colonies along the
 European shores of the Propontis and Euxine ²⁸;
 and emigrants from Peloponnesus having early
 established themselves on the opposite coast of
 Africa, were gradually diffused from the confines
 of Egypt to the Syrtic gulph ²⁹. The history of
 all these colonies, some of which rivalled in arts,
 and others in arms, the glory of the mother
 country, will merit our attention, in proportion

²⁶ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 632. et seq. Pausan. l. vii. c. ii.

²⁷ Thucyd. l. i. et Strabo, passim.

²⁸ Herodot. l. ii. et l. iv.

²⁹ Herodot. l. iv. c. cxlvii. Strabo, l. x. et l. xvii.

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as they emerge from obscurity, and take a station C H A P.
in the general system of Grecian politics.

The Asiatic Greeks, whose affairs first became intimately connected with those of the mother country, received a considerable accession of strength in consequence of the renewal of hostilities between the Athenians and Dorians. The latter were finally expelled from many of their strong holds in Megara. Disdaining after this misfortune to return into the Peloponnesus, many of them sailed to the islands of Rhodes and Crete; already peopled by Doric tribes; while others transported themselves to the peninsula of Caria, which, in honor of their mother country, received the name of Doris III.
The Doric
migration.
A. C. 943.

In consequence of this establishment, which was formed two hundred and forty years after the Trojan war, the western coast of Asia Minor was planted by the Eolians in the north, the Ionians in the middle, and the Dorians in the south. These original divisions of the Hellenic race retained in their new settlements the peculiarities of accent and dialect, by which they had been respectively distinguished in Europe¹²; and which, at the time of their several emigrations, prevailed in Bœotia, Attica, and Lacedæmon. The Bœotians and Lacedæmonians, who claimed the first honors, the one of the Eolic, and the other of the Dorian name, adhered, with little variation,

View of
the Asiatic
colonies.

Distinction
of dialects

¹² Strabo, et Pausan. et Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxiii.

¹³ Heraclid. Pont. apud Athenæum, l. xiv.

C. H. A. P. III. to their ancient dialects : but the Athenians, more ingenious, or fonder of novelty, made such considerable alterations in their writing and pronunciation, as remarkably distinguished them from their Ionian brethren; and thus the same language came to be modified into four subdivisions³², or dialects, which may be still recognized in the invaluable remains of Grecian literature.

Peculiar advantages of the Ionian colonies,

Their influence on the affairs of their European ancestors.

Of all these innumerable colonies, the Ionians will demand our earliest and most studious attention. They settled in a country of great extent and fertility; enjoying the most delicious climate, and peculiarly adapted to a commercial intercourse with the most improved nations of antiquity. Favored by so many advantages, they silently flourished in peace and prosperity, till their growing wealth and numbers excited the avarice or the jealousy of the powers of Asia. They were successively conquered by the Lydians and Persians, but never thoroughly subdued. Having imbibed the principles of European liberty, they spurned the yoke of Asiatic bondage. In their glorious struggles to re-assume the character of freemen, they solicited and obtained the assistance of their Athenian ancestors, and occasioned that memorable rivalry between the Greeks and Persians, which, having lasted two centuries, ended in the destruction of the Persian empire. In this illustrious contest, the first successes of the Greeks against enemies far more powerful, and incomparably more numerous than themselves, inspired

³² Strabo, l. viii.

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them with an enthusiasm of valor. Their exploits merited not only praise, but wonder¹¹, and seemed fit subjects for that historical romance; which, in the progress of literature, naturally succeeds to epic poetry.

C H A P.
III.

The writers who undertook to record and to adorn the trophies of Marathon and Plataea, had occasion to look back to the transactions of more remote times. But in taking this retrospect, *they* discovered, or at least *we* may discover by their works, that their inquiries began too late to afford much authentic information on that important subject. Yet; imperfect as their relations necessarily are, they serve to explain by what concurrence of favorable circumstances and causes the Greeks adopted those singular institutions, acquired that sense of national honor, and attained those virtues of policy and prowess, which enabled them, by the most splendid series of exploits recorded in history, first to resist, then to invade; and finally to subdue the monarchy of Cyrus.

Conne-
tion of this
history.

During the prevalence of those generous, though romantic opinions, which characterized the heroic ages, the authority of kings was founded on religion, supported by gratitude, and confirmed by utility. While they approved themselves worthy ministers of heaven, they were entitled to due and

Abolition
of monar-
chy in
Greece.

¹¹ Τα έργα μεγάλα και θυμαστά. Herodot. p. 1. The exploits which he relates, still more than his manner of relating them, render the work of Herodotus the intermediate shade between poetry and history, between Homer and Thucydides.

CHAP. hereditary honors¹⁴; but in the exercise of the
 III. regal office, they were bound to respect the rights, the sentiments, and even the prejudices of their subjects. The fatal dictates of ambition and avarice led them to transgress the prescribed limits, and to trample on those laws which their predecessors had held sacred¹⁵. The minute division of landed property, which had already taken place, not only, as above mentioned, in the Peloponnese, but in the northern provinces of Greece, rendered the nobles and people more sensible of these encroachments, which they must at once boldly resist, or submit for ever to the yoke of oppression. Reduced to this alternative, the Greeks were inclined by disposition, and enabled by situation, to prefer and to maintain the most honorable part. The prerogatives of royalty were not as yet supported by the exclusive right of the sword; by which a particular class of men might intimidate and controul the resolutions of their fellow-subjects. The more independent and illustrious citizens, who had been accustomed from the earliest times to come armed to the council or assembly, communicated their grievances, and took proper means to remove them¹⁶. Miltas, the fourth Argive prince in succession to Temenus, was condemned to death for usurping absolute power, Monarchy expired more honorably in Attica; it perished still more disgracefully in Arcadia, but was gradually abolished in every province of

¹⁴ *Ἐπὶ πρῶτοις γένοισι πατρὶναι βασιλείαι.* Thucyd. l. i.

¹⁵ Thucyd. l. i. p. 10.

¹⁶ Aristot. Polit. l. iv. c. 13.

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Greece, except Sparta alone, from the southern extremity of Peloponnesus to the northern frontier of Thessaly¹⁷.

C H A P.
III.

The important, though remote consequences of this revolution, will be explained in the sequel. Its immediate tendency served only to multiply the evils which it was designed to remedy. Greece, oppressed by its kings, was still more oppressed by its archons, or magistrates¹⁸; and, already too much divided under the ancient government, was still more subdivided under the new form of polity. Many inferior cities disdained the jurisdiction of their respective capitals. Several of them affected separate and independent sovereignty. Each town, each district, maintained war with its neighbours; and the fanciful state of nature, according to the philosophy of Hobbes, was actually realized in that distracted country¹⁹.

Accumulated disorders in that country.

From these accumulated disorders, which seemed scarcely capable of augmentation, it is time to turn our view to those events and causes which operated in a contrary direction, and gradually introduced union and happiness. The Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, otherwise productive of much confusion and bloodshed in that peninsula, greatly extended, however, the salutary influence of the Amphictyonic council. In the northern parts of Greece, this institution, which had been originally intended to prevent foreign invasion,

Circumstances which tended to remove them.

The authority of the Amphictyonic council extended.

¹⁷ Thucyd. l. i. p. 10.
Plut. in Solon.

¹⁸ Aristot. Polit. l. iv. c. 13

¹⁹ Thucyd. ibid.

G H A P. had been found equally useful in promoting domestic concord. The Dorians being constituent members of the council, continued to attend its meetings after they had settled beyond the mountainous isthmus of Corinth. All the provinces which they conquered gradually assumed the same privilege. The Amphictyons thus became a representative assembly of the whole Grecian name, consisting not only of the three original tribes of Ionians, Dorians, and Eolians, but of the several subdivisions of these tribes, and of the various communities formed from their promiscuous combination⁴⁰. Each independent state had a right to send two members, the Pylagoras⁴¹ and Hieromnemon⁴², respectively intrusted with the civil and religious concerns of their constituents. The abolition of royalty rendering the independent communities more numerous, increased the number of Amphictyons to about an hundred persons⁴³. The

⁴⁰ The principal divisions were,

1. Ionians, among whom the Athenians held the first rank.

2. The Dorians, among whom the Lacedæmonians held the first rank.

3. The Eolians, among whom the Bæotians held the first rank.

4. Thessalians 5. Magnetes. 6. Achæans.

7. Phthiotes. 8. Phocians. 9. Mallians.

10. Ænians or Oetians. 11. Dolopians.

12. Locrians. Confer Pausan. in Phocic. et Æschin. de Falsa Legat.

⁴¹ Demosth. de Coron. sect. 51.

⁴² Suidas, ad voc.

⁴³ Thirty-one Amphictyonic cities undertook the defence of Greece in the Persian war. (Plutarch in Themistocl.) The one half of Greece, on that memorable occasion, remained neutral, or sided with the enemy. (Herodot. et Diodor.) If each city sent two members to the Amphictyons, the whole would amount to one hun-

central city of Delphi, so famous from causes that will be immediately explained, was chosen as a convenient place for holding their vernal assembly; the autumnal was still held at Thermopylæ. An oath, guarded by the most solemn imprecations, was administered to each member, "that he would never subvert any Amphictyonic city, nor stop the courses of its running water, but punish to the utmost of his power those who committed such outrages". Their constituents, however, discovered, on innumerable occasions, that they thought themselves but imperfectly bound by this sacred promise. Every excess of animosity prevailed among the Grecian republics, notwithstanding the interposition of the Amphictyons. Yet it cannot be doubted that their authority tended sometimes to appease, sometimes to moderate contention; and that this respected tribunal, though deficient in coercive power, had a considerable effect to suppress discord, and restrain the barbarities of war.

The Amphictyons gained much consideration, by declaring themselves protectors of the Delphic oracle, which had been growing to importance since the Dorian conquest, and which thenceforth gradually acquired a singular influence on the affairs of Greece. It is seldom possible to explain the rise of institutions derived from the natural passions

The origin
of Grecian
oracles.

dred and twenty four. But as some cities enjoyed the right of being represented in that council only in conjunction with others, this might diminish the number of members to that mentioned in the text.

⁴⁴ Æschin. de Falsa Legat. sect. 25.

⁴⁵ Plut. in Climon.

CHAP. of men, or founded on prejudices as ancient as the
 III. world. The most probable information concerning the origin of Grecian oracles was conveyed to Herodotus⁴⁶, in a thin allegorical veil, by the priests of Dodona, and explained to that inquisitive and ingenious traveller by the priests of Jupiter in Egypt. In the fanciful style of antiquity, a black pigeon flew from the temple of Egyptian Thebes, to Thesprotia in Epirus; perched on a spreading oak, proclaimed with a human voice, that an oracle of Jupiter should be established; and the inhabitants of the neighbouring hamlet of Dodona obeyed the divine admonition. In plainer language, a female attendant belonging to the temple of Thebes on the Nile, was transported to Epirus by Phœnician pirates, and there sold as a slave. Her Egyptian complexion deserved the epithet of black among the mountaineers of Thesprotia, bordering on the Illyric hordes, who were remarked by the Greek historians for their blooming complexions, active vigor, and longevity⁴⁷. She was said to speak the language of birds, before she understood the Grecian tongue, often distinguished by the appellation of human speech⁴⁸. The enterprising female, though reduced to captivity among those whom she must have regarded as barbarians, did not yield to despair, but dexterously availed herself of the advantages which she derived from her education and her country. In Egypt, superstition had been already reduced into

⁴⁶ Herod. l. ii. c. 54.

⁴⁷ Lucian in Macrobian.

⁴⁸ Homer, *passim*.

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system; and a pretension to prophecy was one of the most successful artifices by which the priests of Thebes long governed the opinions and resolutions of prince and people. Her attendance on the temple had taught her some of the arts by which this pretension was maintained. She chose the dark shade of a venerable oak; delivered mysterious answers to the admiring multitude; her reputation increased; success gained her associates; a temple rose to Jupiter, and was surrounded by houses for his ministers.

This singular institution was imitated, at a very early period, in many provinces of Greece. The various and inconsistent accounts of similar establishments abundantly confirm the antiquity of their origin, and the multiplicity of temples, groves, grottos, and caverns, in which the favorites of innumerable divinities declared their will to men; proves them no less universal than ancient¹⁹. During the heroic ages, indeed, as illustrious and pious men believed themselves, on important occasions, honored with the immediate presence and advice of their heavenly protectors, the secondary information of priests and oracles was less generally regarded and esteemed. But in proportion as the belief ceased that the gods appeared in a human form, or the supposed visits at least of these celestial beings seemed less frequent and familiar, the office of priest became more important and respectable, and the confidence in oracles continually gained

C H A P.
III.

Reason
why their
authority
was not
consider-
able dur-
ing the
heroic
ages.

¹⁹ Strabo, l. viii. p. 352. et p. 418. et Strabo et Pausan. passim.

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C H A P. ground. At length, these admired institutions, being considered as the chief and almost only mode of communication with supernatural powers, acquired a degree of influence capable to controul every other principle of authority, whether civil or sacred¹⁰.

III.
Circum-
stances
which gave
peculiar
celebrity to
the oracle
of Delphi.

But these various oracles, though alike founded on ignorance, and raised by deceit, were not equally supported by power and policy. The crafty Cretans (apt scholars of Egypt), who instituted the worship of the Delphian Apollo¹¹, gradually procured the credit of superior veracity to the predictions of the god whom they served. Favorable circumstances concurred; the central situation of Delphi; the vernal session of the Amphictyons; the lustre derived from the immediate protection of that assembly; above all, the uncommon and awful aspect of the place itself, fitted to excite wonder in ages less addicted to superstition.

Descrip-
tion of that
place.

That branch of the celebrated mount Parnassus, which divides the districts of Phocis and Locris, contained, towards its southern extremity, a profound cavern, the crevices of which emitted a sulphureous vapor, that, powerfully affecting the brain, was deemed capable of inspiring those who breathed it with religious frenzy, and prophetic enthusiasm¹². Around the principal mouth of the chasm, the city of Delphi arose in the form of a

¹⁰ Herodot. Thucyd. et Xenoph. passim.

¹¹ Homer, Hymn. ad Apollin.

¹² Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. c. 26. et Strab. l. ix. p. 419.

theatre,

theatre, upon the winding declivity of Parnassus, whose fantastic tops overshadowed it, like a canopy, on the north, while two immense rocks rendered it inaccessible on the east and west, and the rugged and shapeless mount Cirphis defended it on the south⁵³. The foot of the last-named mountain is washed by the rapid Plistus, which discharges itself into the sea at the distance of only a few leagues from the sacred city. This inaccessible and romantic situation, from which the place derived the name of Delphi⁵⁴, was rendered still more striking, by the innumerable echoes which multiplied every sound, and increased the ignorant veneration of visitants for the god of the oracle. The artful ministers of Apollo gradually collected such objects in the groves and temple, as were fitted to astonish the senses of the admiring multitude. The splendor of marble, the magic of painting, the invaluable statues of gold and silver, represented (to use the language of antiquity) not the resemblance of any earthly habitation, but rather expressed the image of Olympus, adorned and enlightened by the actual presence of the gods. During the age of Homer, the rich magnificence of Delphi was already proverbial⁵⁵; and when

C H A P.

III.

⁵³ Homer has rather painted than described the situation of Pytho, Apollo's temple at Delphi:

Αὐτὰρ ὑπέρθευ

Πατρὶ ὑποκρυματάι, καὶ δὲ ὑποδιδρομὴ Βησσα, etc.

Hymn. ad Apollin.

⁵⁴ Δελφός is explained in the glossaries by synonymous words, signifying *solitary*, *alone*.

⁵⁵ Οὐδ' ὅσσα λαῖνος εὐδοῖς ἀεινέτορος ἄντος ἐγγεί.

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CHAP. Xerxes undertook his memorable expedition against
 III. Greece, the dedications in this pious treasury, accumulated from the superstition and vanity of Greeks and Barbarians, were held equivalent "to the revenues of the monarch of Asia, who covered the broad *Ægean* with his fleet, and transported into Europe two millions of armed men.

The particular constitution of that oracle.

The protection and superintendency of this precious depository of riches and superstition belonged to the *Amphictyons*. But the inhabitants of *Delphi*, who, if we may use the expression, were the original proprietors of the oracle, always continued to direct the religious ceremonies, and to conduct the important business of prophecy". It was their province alone to determine at what time, and on what occasion, the *Pythia* should mount the sacred tripod, to receive the prophetic streams, by which she communicated with *Apollo*. When overflowing with the heavenly inspiration, she uttered the confused words, or rather frantic sounds, irregularly suggested by the impulse of the god; the *Delphians* "collected these sounds, reduced them into order, animated them with sense, and adorned them with harmony. The *Pythia*, appointed and dismissed at pleasure, was a mere instrument in the hands of those artful ministers,

⁵⁶ See *Differt. sur l'Oracle de Delph. par Mr. Hardion, Mém. de l'Academ.* The comparison was, doubtless, an exaggeration of the wealth of *Delphi*, which was little known till later times, when the *Phocians* plundered the temple of near a million sterling, without exhausting its treasures. But of this more hereafter.

⁵⁷ *Strabo*, l. ix.

⁵⁸ *Strabo*, l. ix. p. 419.

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whose character became so venerable and sacred, that they were finally regarded, not merely as attendants and worshippers, but as the peculiar family of the god⁵⁰. Their number was considerable, and never exactly ascertained, since all the principal inhabitants of Delphi, claiming an immediate relation to Apollo, were entitled to officiate in the rites of his sanctuary; and even the inferior ranks, belonging to that sacred city, were continually employed in dances, festivals, processions, and in displaying all the gay pageantry of an airy and elegant superstition.

The subsequent history of Greece attests the important and salutary influence of the Delphic oracle, which no sooner attained splendor, than it confirmed, by its awful sanction, two institutions, the first religious, the second civil, and both accompanied with very extraordinary consequences. The Olympic games, and Spartan laws, were respectively established by Iphitus and Lycurgus, contemporaries⁵¹, friends, both animated by the true spirit of patriotism; and unquestionably the most illustrious characters of the age in which they lived⁵²; yet the roads which they pursued for

Its influence in establishing the Olympic games and Spartan laws.

⁵⁰ Lucian Phalar.

⁵¹ Phlegon apud Euseb. *Chronic.* et Aristot. apud Plutarch. in *Lycurg.*

⁵² Lycurgus and Iphitus are commonly supposed to have instituted the Olympic games 708 years before the period to which the Olympiads could be regularly traced. This was 776 years before Christ, when Coræbus won in the foot-race. See Pausan. l. v. Sir Isaac Newton considers the chronology preceding the victory of Coræbus as so extremely uncertain, that he proposes striking off the imaginary interval between him and Iphitus; which appears the

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C H A P. reaching the same goal, the safety of their respective territories, were so widely different, that, while the Olympic games rendered Elis the most pacific, the laws of Lycurgus made Sparta the most warlike, of all the Grecian communities.

III.

Remote causes of the establishment of the Olympic games, and other similar institutions.

It was held an ancient and sacred custom, in the heroic ages, to celebrate the funerals of illustrious men by such shows and ceremonies as seemed most pleasing to their shades. The tombs, around which the melancholy manes were supposed to hover, naturally became the scene of such solemnities. There the fleeting ghosts of departed heroes were entertained and honored by exhibitions of bodily strength and address⁶²; while the gods, though inhabiting the broad expanse⁶³ of heaven, were yet peculiarly worshipped, by prayers and sacrifices, in the several places, which sometimes the wildness, and sometimes the elegance of fancy, had assigned for their favorite, though temporary, residence on earth. The lofty chain of Olympus, separating the barbarous kingdom of Macedon from the fertile plains of Thessaly, is distinguished by several circumstances, which seemed justly to entitle it to that honor. This long and lofty ridge ascends above the regions of storms and tempests. Its winding sides are diversified by woods, and intersected by torrents. Its fantastic tops, towering above the clouds, reflect, during

more reasonable because history is totally silent with regard to any occurrences that must have happened in the intermediate space of 108 years.

⁶² Iliad, l. xxiii.

⁶³ Οὐρανός οὐρανός. Homer, *passim*.

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day, the rays of the sun, and sometimes brighten the gloom of night with the lambent splendors of the Aurora Borealis “^{C H A P. III.} Olympus came, therefore, to be naturally regarded as the principal terrestrial habitation of the gods; along the recesses of this mountain “ each divinity had his appropriate palace; on its highest summit Jupiter often assembled the heavenly council; and from thence, veiled in a white gleam, the protectors of mankind descended, and were visibly manifested to mortal eyes “.

While Olympus was considered as the general rendezvous of these fanciful beings, it was natural to imagine that the partiality of particular divinities might select other favorite spots of the earth for their separate abode. The singular aspect of Delphi, or Pytho, which recommended it as the seat of the oracle of Apollo, and afterwards of the Pythian games, has already been described. The Corinthian territory was particularly consecrated to Neptune “; for where could the god of the sea be more properly worshipped, than on the narrow isthmus, whose shores were adorned by grateful monuments of delivered mariners, and which had continued, from early times, the principal centre of Grecian navigation?

“ See the inimitable description in the 6th book of the *Odyssæ*, ver. 42.

“ *Κατὰ πτυχὰς Ὀλύμπου*. Along the foldings of Olympus.

“ Homer, *passim*; and particularly *Iliad*, l. xix. ver. 40.

“ Pausan. *Corinth.* et Strabo, p. 382.

C. H. A. P.

III.

Immediate
causes of
the estab-
lishment
of the O-
lympic
games.

A tradition prevailed, that even before the Dorian conquest, the fruitful and picturesque banks of the Alpheus, in the province of Elis, or Eleia, had been consecrated to Jupiter⁶⁶. It is certain that athletic sports, similar to those described by Homer at the funeral of Patroclus, had been on many occasions exhibited in Elis, by assembled chiefs, with more than ordinary solemnity⁶⁷. The Dorian conquerors are said to have renewed the consecration of that delightful province. But the wars which early prevailed between them and the Athenians, and the jealousies and hostilities which afterwards broke out among themselves⁶⁸, totally interrupted the religious ceremonies and exhibitions with which they had been accustomed to honor their common gods and heroes. Amidst the calamities which afflicted or threatened the Peloponnesus, Iphitus, a descendant of Oxylus, to whom the province of Eleia had fallen in the general partition of the peninsula, applied to the Delphic oracle. The priests of Apollo, ever disposed to favor the views of kings and legislators, answered agreeably to his wish, that the festivals anciently celebrated at Olympia, on the Alpheus, must be renewed, and an armistice proclaimed for all the states willing to partake of them, and desirous to avert the vengeance of heaven⁶⁹. Fortified by this authority, and assisted by the advice

⁶⁶ Pausan. l. v. passim, et l. vi. p. 456.

⁶⁷ Iliad, ii. ver. 697. et Iliad, ix. ver. 623.

⁶⁸ Pausan. l. v.

⁶⁹ Phlegon apud Euseb.

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of Lycurgus, Iphitus took measures, not only for restoring the Olympic solemnity, but for rendering it perpetual. The injunction of the oracle was speedily diffused through the remotest parts of Greece, by the numerous votaries who frequented the sacred shrine. The armistice was proclaimed in Peloponnesus, and preparations were made in Eleia, for exhibiting shows and performing sacrifices. In the heroic ages, feats of bodily strength and address were destined to the honor of deceased warriors; hymns and sacrifices were reserved for the gods. But the flexible texture of Grecian superstition, easily confounding the expressions of respectful gratitude and pious veneration, enabled Iphitus to unite both in his new institution.

The festival, which lasted five days, began and ended with a sacrifice to Olympian Jove. The intermediate time was chiefly filled up by the gymnastic exercises, in which all freemen of Grecian extraction were invited to contend, provided they had been born in lawful wedlock, and had lived untainted by any infamous immoral stain. The preparation for this part of the entertainment was made in the gymnasium of Elis, a spacious edifice, surrounded by a double range of pillars, with an open area in the middle. Adjoining were various apartments, containing baths, and other conveniences for the combatants. The neighbouring country was gradually adorned with porticoes, shady walks and groves, interspersed with seats and benches, the whole originally destined to relieve the fatigues and anxiety of the candidates

C H A P.
III.

Descrip-
tion of the
nature and
design of
this insti-
tution.

C H A P. for Olympic fame; and frequented, in later times,
 III. by sophists and philosophers, who were fond to
 contemplate wisdom, and communicate know-
 ledge, in those delightful retreats. The order of
 the athletic exercises, or combats, was established
 by Lycurgus, and corresponded almost exactly to
 that described by Homer, in the twenty-third book
 of the *Iliad*, and eighth of the *Odyssey*. Iphitus,
 we are told, appointed the other ceremonies and
 entertainments; settled the regular return of the
 festival at the end of every fourth year, in the
 month of July; and gave to the whole solemnity
 that form and arrangement, which it preserved
 with little variation above a thousand years; a
 period exceeding the duration of the most famous
 kingdoms and republics of antiquity⁷¹.

Its im-
 portant
 conse-
 quences.

Such is the account of Grecian writers, who
 have, doubtless, often ascribed to positive institu-
 tion many inventions and usages naturally result-
 ing from the progressive manners of society. When
 we come to examine the Elia games in their more
 improved state, together with the innumerable imi-
 tations of them in other provinces of Greece, there
 will occur reasons for believing, that many regula-
 tions referred, by an easy solution, to the legisla-
 tive wisdom of Iphitus or Lycurgus, were intro-
 duced by time or accident, continued through
 custom, improved by repeated trials, and con-
 firmed by a sense of their utility. Yet such an

⁷¹ See the authors cited by West, in his *Dissertation on the Olympic Games*.

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institution as the Olympiad, even in its least perfect form, must have been attended with manifest advantages to society. It is sufficient barely to mention the suspension of hostilities which took place, not only during the celebration of the festival, but a considerable time both before and after it. Considered as a religious ceremony, at which the whole Grecian name were invited, and even enjoined, to assist, it was well adapted to facilitate intercourse, to promote knowledge, to soften prejudice, and to hasten the progress of civilization and humanity. Greece, and particularly Peloponnesus, was the centre from which the adventurous spirit of its inhabitants had diffused innumerable colonies through the surrounding nations. To these widely separated communities, which, notwithstanding their common origin, seem to have lost all connexion and correspondence, the Olympiad served as a common bond of alliance, and point of reunion. The celebrity of this festival continually attracted to it the characters most distinguished⁷³ for genius and enterprise, whose fame would have otherwise been unknown and lost in the boundless extent of Grecian territory. The remote inhabitants, not only of European Greece, but of Asia and Africa, being assembled to the worship of common gods, were formed to the sense of a general interest, and excited to the pursuit of national honor and prosperity. Strangers of similar dispositions might confirm in Elis the

C H A P.
III.

⁷³ Pindar, *passim*.

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C H A P. III. sacred and indissoluble ties of hospitality. If their communities were endangered by any barbarous power, they might here solicit assistance from their Grecian brethren. On other occasions they might explain the benefits which, in peace or war, their respective countries were best qualified to communicate. And the Olympic festival might thus serve the purpose of resident ambassadors, and other institutions alike unknown to antiquity.

State of
Greece in
the age of
Lycurgus.

Iphitus did not, probably, foresee the manifold advantages destined to result from his plan. His main aim was to protect the small principality of Elis against the dreaded invasion of more powerful neighbours. This he effectually accomplished by fencing it round with a wall of sanctity, while his more daring associate fortified Sparta with disciplined valor. Yet Lycurgus had farther ends in view, when he proposed those celebrated laws, which were universally admired, but never imitated. Greece in that unfortunate age presented a gloomy picture of domestic discord. The elevated, though romantic, sentiments of antiquity had ceased to prevail; the heroic character was effaced; and the generous, but often destructive expeditions into foreign lands, were interrupted by less daring, but still more fatal undertakings. The introduction of separate wealth had introduced inequality and ambition. Each petty prince was desirous to exalt his prerogative, and to extend his dominions. The passions of neighbouring princes balanced his desire of conquest. The resistance of his subjects counteracted his usurpations. Every

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kingdom, almost every city, was torn by a double conflict, dangers threatened on all sides; subjects expelled their kings, and kings became tyrants".

During these tumultuary scenes, Lycurgus, of the line of Procles, and commonly reckoned the tenth in descent from Hercules, received the Spartan sceptre upon the death of his elder brother Polydectes: but the widow of Polydectes declaring herself pregnant, he resigned the crown, and assumed the title of Protector. This delicate attention to justice, rare in that turbulent age, excited just admiration for Lycurgus, which was enhanced by contrast. The ambitious princess, more solicitous to preserve the honors of a queen than desirous to know the tender cares of a mother, secretly intimated to the Protector, that, if he consented to marry her, she would engage that no posthumous son of his brother should disappoint his hopes of the succession. Lycurgus feigned to enter into this unnatural project, but exhorted her not to endanger her health by procuring an abortion. When her delivery drew near, he sent trusty persons to attend her, with orders that, if she brought forth a son, the infant should be immediately carried to him. This command was obeyed, while he supped with the principal magistrates of the republic. He received the child in his arms, saying, "Spartans, a king is born to you!" Joyous congratulations followed, to commemorate which, the infant was named

O H A P.
III.

His justice
exposes
him to re-
sentment
in Sparta.

7* Thucyd. l. i. Plut. in Lycurg.

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C H A P. Chaerelaus, "the people's joy." Notwithstanding the fame redounding to Lycurgus from this transaction, the intrigues of the flighted queen raised a powerful faction against him. He withdrew himself from the gathering storm; and being yet in early manhood, indulged his inclination for visiting foreign countries; an inclination strongest in liberal minds, and most commendable in ages of rudeness and ignorance, when the faint rays of knowledge must be collected from an extensive surface.

III.
His travels.

Collects
Homer's
poems, and
carries
them to
Sparta.

The renowned island of Crete, which had given birth to the gods and governments of Greece, first attracted his regard. The Cretans still partially adhered to the laws of Minos; but their island never resumed its pristine lustre after the fatal war of Troy. From Crete he sailed to Egypt, and carefully examined the civil and religious polity of that ancient kingdom. Despising the terrors of the sea, as well as the fatigues and dangers of unexplored journies through barbarous or desert countries, he is said to have reached the populous and flourishing kingdoms of the east: nor, could we trust the partial evidence of his countryman Aristocrates⁷¹, did the remote provinces of India escape his observation. He returned by the coast of Asia minor, and observed, with equal astonishment and satisfaction, the numerous Greek colonies that had risen with such sudden splendor on the western coast of that valuable peninsula. The

⁷¹ Apud Plutarch. in Lycurg.

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numerous advantages derived from this extensive view of men and manners, moulded by such a wide variety of religious, political, and military institutions, were all eclipsed by one discovery — the immortal poems of Homer, unknown to the Dorian conquerors of Peloponnesus, but carefully preserved among the Eolians and Ionians, whose ancestors they celebrated. Lycurgus collected these invaluable compositions; arranged the several parts; transcribed and transported them to Sparta⁷⁶, where, after two centuries of wars and revolutions, the customs as well as the sentiments described by the divine poet had been obliterated and forgotten.

Neither the astonishing invention of Homer, nor his inimitable fancy, nor the unrivalled copiousness, energy, and harmony of his style, so powerfully excited the discerning admiration of Lycurgus, as the treasures of his political and moral knowledge, which, being copied from the

The views
which they
suggested
to Lycar-
gus.

⁷⁶ This fact is generally acknowledged; yet Plutarch tells us, that some writers were absurd enough to relate that Lycurgus lived soon after Homer, and others, that he had actually seen the divine poet. Homer describes the Peloponnesus with such accuracy, that the geographer Strabo follows him, as it were, step by step, through that peninsula. It is incredible, therefore, that he, who was so perfectly acquainted with that part of Greece, should have been totally forgotten there soon after his own times. Homer, it has been often observed, preserves a remarkable silence about himself; yet his antiquity, were it not sufficiently evident from the internal proofs above mentioned, p. 60. might be proved from *Odys.* l. i. ver. 357. and particularly from *Iliad*, l. xx. ver. 303. He flourished before the return of the *Heracleids*, eighty years after the taking of Troy, a revolution which, had it happened before his time, could not have escaped his notice.

C. H. A. P. bright originals of an heroic age, might be employed to reform the abuses of a degenerate indeed, but not totally corrupted, nation. By restoring, in particular, the moderate spirit of policy which prevailed in happier times, the Spartan legislator might avert the most imminent dangers that threatened his family and his country. The royal families of Argos, Athens, and Thebes, had been reluctantly expelled by the resentment or caution of their injured or jealous subjects, who regretted that the regal power was so apt to degenerate into a system of oppression. The misfortunes which had abolished the honors, and almost extinguished the race of Atreus, Oedipus, Theseus, and so many other kings and heroes of antiquity, must pursue, and might soon overtake, the descendants of Hercules, whom the reasonable laws of Lycurgus maintained, during seven centuries, on the Spartan throne. The accumulation of private wealth, together with the natural progress of arts and luxury, would gradually render the possessions of the Greeks more tempting prizes to rapacity and ambition, in proportion to the decay of that courage and discipline, which were requisite to their defence. The fertile plains of Laconia might again be ravaged by the arms of some uncultivated, but warlike tribe; Sparta might suffer similar calamities to those which she afterwards inflicted on Messene, and the alternative of dominion or servitude depended on the early institutions that should be respectively embraced

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by so many neighbouring and independent, and therefore rival, communities. C. H. A. P.

III.

The main aim of his legislation.

The sagacity of Lycurgus thus contemplating the relations and interests of his country and his family, regarded martial spirit and political liberty as the great ends of his legislation. These important objects had been attained by the primitive institutions, so faithfully described by Homer. Lycurgus determined to imitate the simple beauty of that illustrious model; and, to the end that the Spartan constitution might enjoy a degree of permanence and stability which the *heroic policies* had not possessed, he resolved to avoid the rocks on which *they* had shipwrecked, to extinguish the ambition of distant or extensive conquest, to level the inequality of fortune, to crush the baneful effects of wealth and luxury, in one word to arrest the progress of what is called the refinement, but what seemed to the manly discernment of this legislator, the corruption, of human society.

To form such a design was the work of no vulgar mind; to carry it into execution required the most strenuous exertions of perseverance and courage. Yet, even at this distance of time, we may discover several favorable circumstances, which seasonably conspired with the views of Lycurgus; we may discover in the gradual display of his system, how the first institutions naturally paved the way for those which succeeded them; and while we admire the genius and the virtue, we must also acknowledge the dexterity and the fortune, of the Spartan legislator.

Circumstances which favored his views.

C H A P. The experience of history (and particularly the history which we have undertaken to record) attests the extraordinary revolution which one bold, wise, and disinterested man may produce in the affairs of the community of which he is a member. The domestic disorders which multiplied in Sparta after the departure of Lycurgus, obliged all ranks of men to look up to his abilities for protection. The animated declamations of Thales, a poet whom he had carried with him from Crete, and who rehearsed with rapturous ecstasy, the verses of Homer and his own, singularly disposed the minds of men for adopting his proposed regulations.

His reception at Delphi.

But neither these propitious circumstances, nor the merit of ten years travel in pursuit of moral knowledge and improvement, nor the ties of blood, of friendship, and of gratitude, which confirmed the influence of Lycurgus among the principal inhabitants of Sparta, could have enabled this great man to establish his plan of government, without the friendly co-operation of the Delphic oracle, which, since the decay of the heroic opinions and belief, had become the sovereign umpire of Greece. The Pythia addressed him in terms of the highest respect; hesitated whether to call him a god or a man, but rather deemed him a divinity; approved the general spirit of the institutions which he proposed to establish; and promised to furnish him, as occasion might require, with such additional regulations, as (when adopted by the Spartans) would render their republic happy and immortal. Fortified by this authority, Lycurgus proceeded with

with a daring yet skilful hand, first, to new-model the government; secondly, to regulate wealth and possessions; thirdly, to reform education and manners; judiciously pursuing this natural order of legislation, because men are less jealous of power than tenacious of property, and less tenacious of property itself, than of their ancient usages and customs ⁷⁷.

The first rhetra ⁷⁸, or laws which he established, tended to restore the mild moderation of mixed government, which distinguished the heroic ages. They confirmed the hereditary honors, but abolished the despotism ⁷⁹, of kings: they enforced the dutiful obedience, but vindicated the liberty, of subjects. Of the reigning princes, Chaerelaus owed to Lycurgus his throne and his life, and Archelaus deemed it dangerous to oppose his projects. Instructed by the fatal experience of neighbouring tyrants, they were both easily prevailed on to prefer a secure, though limited, to an absolute, but precarious reign. The superstition of the people could not decline the authority of the legis-

C H A P.

III.

He regulates the distribution of political power among the different orders of the state.

⁷⁷ The only dangerous opposition that he met with, was occasioned by his laws respecting these objects. A tumult being excited, the insolent Alcander wounded him in the face, by which Lycurgus lost the sight of an eye. But the persuasive eloquence of the legislator quelled the sedition, and his moderation converted Alcander from a violent opposer to a strenuous partizan. Plut. in Lycorg.

⁷⁸ The word is synonymous with oracula, fata; by which names his laws were distinguished as the immediate dictates and inspirations of heaven.

⁷⁹ The difference between the *Ecclesiastical*, or royalties of the heroic ages, and the *royalties* of succeeding times, is explained by Aristot. Politic. et Xenoph. Repub. Spart.

C H A P. lator, when confirmed by the respected command
III. of Apollo; and the interest of the nobles engaged them unanimously to promote his measures. With this illustrious body, consisting of twenty-eight chiefs, the most distinguished in the tribes and cities of Laconia, Lycurgus consulted by what means to prevent the political dissensions from settling in the despotism of kings, or in the insolence of democracy. By his new regulations the ancient honors of the nobility were confirmed and extended. They were formed into a permanent council, or senate, which examined all matters of government before they were proposed to the deliberation of the people. The kings were entitled, as in the heroic ages, to be the hereditary presidents of this national tribunal; which, as in all important questions, it possessed a negative before debate; as the members were chosen for life; and as, on the decease of any senator, his son or nearest kinsman was naturally substituted in his stead, might have soon arrogated to itself the whole legislative as well as executive authority.

Institutes
the Ephori.

Nature of
their office.

In order to counteract this dangerous tendency, Lycurgus instituted the Ephori^{oo}, five annual magistrates, invested with a temporary power to inspect and controul the administration of government, and to maintain the spirit and vigor of the established constitution. To the Ephori it belonged to convoke, prorogue, and dissolve the greater and lesser assem-

^{oo} Their name, denoting overseers, or inspectors, properly describes their office.

blies of the people, the former composed of nine thousand Spartans, inhabitants of the capital, the latter of thirty thousand Lacedæmonians, inhabitants of the inferior towns and villages. By frequently convening such numerous bodies of men, who had arms in their hands, they rendered them sensible of their own strength. The Lacedæmonians felt themselves entitled not only to execute the just, but to thwart the unjust, orders of the senate. Nor was their liberty endangered by the limited prerogative of the kings, who monthly exchanged with the Ephori solemn oaths; the former swearing for themselves to observe the laws of Sparta, the latter²¹ for the people whom they represented, to maintain the hereditary honors of the Herculean race, to respect them as ministers of religion, to obey them as judges in peace, and to follow them as leaders in war²².

C H A P.
III.

This equitable distribution of power was accompanied, we are told, with an exact division of property. At the distance of five centuries it was the current tradition in Greece, that Lycurgus had totally altered the situation and circumstances of his countrymen, by the introduction of an agrarian

His laws concerning property.

²¹ The authority of Herodotus, l. i. and of Xenophon de Repub. Spart. refutes Aristot. Polit. l. ii. c. 5. and Plutarch. in Lycurg. The last mentioned writers refer the institution of the Ephori to Theopompus, who lived 130 years after Lycurgus. But this assertion only proves that neither Aristotle nor Plutarch had sufficiently entered into the views of the Spartan legislator. The Ephori, as it appears from Xenophon and Herodotus, and from the whole transactions of Sparta, formed an essential part of his plan.

²² Xenoph. *ibid*.

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II A P. law, similar to that which has been so often,
 III. but always so ineffectually, proposed in other republics, as the surest foundation of liberty and happiness. Yet the equal division of lands, or, in other words, the community of landed property, and the annual partition of the harvest, took place among the original inhabitants of Greece, as well as among the freeborn warriors of ancient Germany. It may be supposed therefore, with a high degree of probability, that the Spartans, in the time of Lycurgus, still preserved some traces of their primitive institutions, and that their minds were comparatively untainted with the vices of avarice and luxury. To bring them back, however, to the perfect simplicity of the heroic ages, and to prevent their future degeneracy, the territory of Laconia was divided into thirty-nine thousand portions, each producing eighty-two medimni, or bushels, of barley, with a proportional measure of fruits, wine, and oil. The rich pasture-ground was probably left in common. The kings, as in the age of Homer, enjoyed their separate domain, conferred by the voluntary gratitude of their subjects. The senators, contented with an increase of power and honor, neither obtained nor desired any pre-eminence of fortune. Their moderation in this respect afforded a salutary example to the people, the greater part of whom

equal division of
lands.

¹³ The *τεμενίς*. Xenophon tells us, that it was always well watered; it probably consisted, as in Homer's time, *φυταλῆς καὶ ἀμπεράς*, of plantations and corn-land.

would naturally be gainers by the agrarian law, C H A P. III.
 while the few who were rich, for that relative term
 always implies the smaller number, submitted
 without resistance to the wisdom of Lycurgus, and
 the authority of Apollo.

The equal division of land seemed not alone
 sufficient to introduce an equality in the manner of
 life, and to banish the seeds of luxury. The ac- Introduc-
tion of iron
money.
 cumulation of moveable, or what the Greeks called
 invifible property*, might enable the rich to com-
 mand the labor of the poor, and, according to
 the natural progress of wants and inventions, must
 encourage the dangerous pursuit of elegance and
 pleasure. The precious metals had long been the
 ordinary measures of exchange in Sparta, and,
 could we credit a very doubtful tradition, had greatly
 accumulated in private hands. Lycurgus with-
 drew from farther circulation all this gold and
 filver, a considerable part of which probably repaid
 his gratitude to the Delphic oracle, while the re-
 mainder increased the splendor of the Lacedæmo-
 nian temples. Instead of these precious metals,
 the Spartans received pieces of iron, which had
 been heated red in the fire, and afterwards quenched
 in vinegar, in order to render them brittle, and
 ufelefs for every other purpose but that of serving
 as the current specie.

Aftonifhing, say Xenophon and Plutarch, were Effects of
these insti-
tutions.
 the effects of this operation. With the banishment
 of gold and filver were banished all the pernicious

* Οὐραία ἀφαιρέσις. See Lyfias, *passim*.

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CHAP. III. appetites which they excite, and all the frivolous arts which they introduce and nourish. Neither fortune-teller, nor physician, nor sophist, were longer to be seen in Sparta; gaudy trinkets and toys, and all useless finery in dress and furniture, at once disappeared; and the innocence and dignity of Spartan manners corresponded with the primitive simplicity of the iron money. But to reduce to the standard of truth or probability this very fanciful description, it may be observed, that the usefulness and scarcity of iron rendered it, in early times, a very ordinary and convenient measure of exchange. As such it was frequently employed in the heroic ages²²; as such it long continued at Byzantium²³, and other Grecian cities²⁴. The necessity of cooling it in acid, in order to diminish its worth, indicates its high value even in the time of Lycurgus. The alteration of the specie, therefore, probably appeared not so violent a measure as later writers were inclined to represent it; nor could the abolition of gold and silver abolish such elegances and refinements as surely had no existence in Greece during the age of the Spartan legislator. But it may reasonably be believed, that the use of iron money, which continued permanent in Sparta alone, after the vices of wealth and luxury had polluted the rest of Greece, necessarily repelled from the republic of Lycurgus the votaries of pleasure, as well as the slaves of gain, and all the miserable retinue of vanity and folly.

²² Homer, *passim*.

²³ Aristoph. *Nubes*.

²⁴ Plut. in *Lyfand*.

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That wealth is little to be coveted, even by the most selfish, which neither gratifies vanity, nor flatters the desire of power, nor promises the means of pleasure. Upon the smallest abstraction, if avarice were at all capable of abstraction, the most fordid might sympathize with the contempt for superfluous riches, which could never be applied to any purpose, either useful or agreeable. What effort could the generosity of that people require (if the indifference of the Spartans deserve the name of generosity), among whom all valuable objects were equally divided, or enjoyed in common"? Among whom it was enjoined by the laws, and deemed honorable by the citizens, freely to communicate their arms, horses, instruments of agriculture and hunting; to eat together at common and frugal tables, agreeably to the institutions of Crete, as well as the practice of the heroic ages; to disregard every distinction but that of personal merit; to despise every luxury but that of temperance; and to disdain every acquisition but that of the public esteem?

The general and firm assent to the divine mission of Lycurgus might excite the most generous and manly sentiments in the minds of his countrymen. The persuasive force of his eloquence, assisted by the lyric genius of Thales, a poet worthy of Apollo and his missionary", might enable the legislator to complete his beneficial and extensive plan. But there was reason to apprehend lest the

C R A P.
III.
Principle
of the
Spartan
manners.

Ordinary
occupations and
amusements.

" Xenoph. *ibid.* c. vi.

" Plut. in *Lycurg.*

CHAPTER III. system of Lycurgus, like most schemes of reformation, should evaporate with the enthusiasm which produced it, unless the mortifications which it enjoined were rendered habitual to practice, and familiar to fancy. His laws were few and short; for the sake of memory they were conceived in verse; they were not consigned to writing, but treasured in the *hearts* of his disciples as the immediate dictates of heaven. The Lacedæmonians were severely prohibited from the contagious intercourse of strangers, except at the stated returns of religious solemnities. Lycurgus, who had assisted Iphitus in restoring the Olympic games, instituted similar, though less splendid, festivals in his native country. When unemployed in the serious business of war, the Lacedæmonians were continually engaged in assemblies for conversation and the gymnastic exercises, or in religious and military amusements. Agriculture and the mechanic arts were left to the servile hands of the Helots, under which appellation were comprehended (as will be explained hereafter) various hostile communities that successively fell under the dominion of Sparta, and whose personal labor was regarded as the common property of the public". The sciences of war and government were recommended by the laws of Lycurgus, as the only pursuits deserving the attention of freemen.

"Και τρεπον τινα δημοσις ειχον δουλως. "And, in some measure, they," the Lacedæmonians, "had public slaves. Strabo. See likewise Aristot. Repub 1. ii. c. 7.

In the knowledge and practice of war, the Lacedæmonians (if we believe Xenophon, who had fought with and against them) far excelled all Greeks and Barbarians. Courage, the first quality of a soldier, was enlivened by every motive that can operate most powerfully on the mind, while cowardice was branded as the most odious and destructive of crimes, on the principle that it tended, not like many other vices, merely to the hurt of individuals, but to the servitude and ruin of the community. The Spartans preserved the use of the same weapons and defensive armor that had been adopted in the heroic ages; shortening only the length, and thereby improving the form of the sword, which was two-edged, pointed, massy, and fitted either by cutting or thrusting to inflict a dangerous wound". Their troops were divided into regiments, consisting of five hundred and twelve men, subdivided into four companies, and each of these into smaller divisions, commanded by their respective officers; for it was peculiar to the Lacedæmonian armies to contain, comparatively, few men not intrusted with some share of subordinate command". The soldiers were

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III.

Their military institutions.

⁹¹ Vid. Pollux, voc. ξυλκεν.

⁹² Thucydides, who remarks this peculiarity, l. v. p. 390. assigns the reason of it, that the care of the execution might pertain to many. The whole Lacedæmonian army, except a few, consisted, he says, in αρχοντες αρχοντων, και το επιμελες τη δρωμενη πολλοις προσηκει. It is necessary to observe, that the account given by Thucydides, in this passage, of the composition of the Lacedæmonian armies, differs materially from that of Xenophon. I have

C H A P. III. attended by a multitude of artisans and slaves, who, furnished them with all necessary supplies, and accompanied by a long train of priests and poets, who flattered their hopes, and animated their valor. A body of cavalry always preceded their march; sensible of the weakness of angles, they encamped in a circular form: the order of their guards and watches was highly judicious; they employed, for their security, out-entries and vedettes; and regularly, every morning and evening, performed their customary exercises. Xenophon has described with what facility they wheeled in all directions; converted the column of march into an order of battle; and, by skilful and rapid evolutions, presented the strength of the line to an unexpected assault. When they found it prudent to attack, the king, who usually rose before dawn, to anticipate, by early prayer and sacrifice, the favor of the gods, communicated his orders to charge in a full line, or in columns, according to the nature of the ground,

preferred the latter, first, because Xenophon writes expressly on the subject, of which Thucydides speaks incidentally in describing a particular battle: secondly, because the observations of Xenophon relate to the age of Lycurgus, those of Thucydides to the time of the Peloponnesian war: thirdly, because, as will appear in the sequel, Xenophon had a better opportunity than any other stranger, of being thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of Lacedæmon.

The Lacedæmonian tactics will be explained more particularly hereafter.

“Οὐ χρη παννυχιον εἶδεν βεληφορον ανδρα

“Οἱ λαοι επιτετραφεται και τοσσα μεμνηε.

Lycurgus, never losing sight of Homer, converted his advices into laws.

and the numbers and disposition of the enemy. In the day of battle, the Spartans assumed an unusual gaiety of aspect; and displayed, in their dress and ornaments, more than their wonted splendor. Their long hair was arranged with simple elegance; their scarlet uniforms, and brazen armor, diffused a lustre around them. As they approached the enemy, the king sacrificed a-new; the music struck up; and the soldiers advanced with a slow and steady pace, and with a cheerful but deliberate countenance, to what they were taught to regard as the noblest employment of man. Proper officers were appointed to receive the prisoners, to divide the spoil, and to decide the contested prizes of valor. Both before and after, as well as during, the action, every measure was conducted with such order and celerity, that a great captain declares, that when he considered the discipline of the Spartans, all other nations appeared but children in the art of war".

But that continual exercise in arms, which improved the skill and confirmed the valor, must gradually have exhausted the strength of Sparta, unless the care of population had formed an object of principal concern in the system of Lycurgus. Marriage was directly enjoined by some very singular institutions"; but still more powerfully encouraged

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III.

Means by which Lycurgus maintained the populousness, and increased the strength, of Sparta.

" Xenoph. de Repub. Spart.

" Bachelors were debarred from assisting at the female dances. They were compelled to walk naked through the streets in the winter solstice, singing a ludicrous song, which confessed the justice of their punishment.

C H A P. II. by extirpating its greatest enemies, luxury and vanity. But Lycurgus, not contented with maintaining the populousness of Sparta, endeavoured to supply the past generation with a nobler and more warlike race, and to enlarge and elevate the bodies and minds of men to that full proportion of which their nature is susceptible. The credulous love of wonder has always been eager to assert, what the vanity of every age has been unwilling to believe, that the ancient inhabitants of the world possessed a measure of size and strength, as well as of courage and virtue, unattainable and unknown amidst the corruptions and degeneracy of later times. The frequent repetition of the same romantic tale renders giants and heroes familiar and insipid personages in the remote history of almost every people; but from the general mass of fable, a just discernment will separate the genuine ore of Homer and Lycurgus. The laws of the latter brought back the heroic manners which the former had described; and their effects, being not less permanent than salutary, are, at the distance of many centuries, attested by eye-witnesses, whose unimpeached veracity declares the Spartans superior to other men in the excellences of mind and body⁹⁷.

His regulations

Of this extraordinary circumstance, the evidence of contemporary writers could scarcely

⁹⁷ As to the mind, the Spartans were, says Xenophon, ευπειθεστέροι, και αιδημονεστέροι, και αν δι ευκρατεστέροι. Ibid. c. iii. And as to the body, Αφροντας και κατα μεγαλος και κατα ισχυον ανδρας εν Σπάρτη αποτελεσεν. Ibid.

convince us, if they had barely mentioned the fact, without explaining its cause. But in describing the system of Lycurgus, they have not omitted his important regulations concerning the intercourse between the sexes, women, marriage, and children, whose welfare was, even before their birth, a concern to the republic. The generous and brave, it is said, produce the brave and good; but the physical qualities of children still more depend on the constitution of their parents. In other countries of Greece, the men were liberally formed by war, hunting, and the gymnastic exercises; but the women were universally condemned to drudge in sedentary and ignoble occupations, which enfeebled the mind and body. Their chief employment was to superintend, more frequently to perform, the meanest offices of domestic œconomy, and to prepare, by the labor of their hands, food and raiment for themselves and families. Their diet was coarse and sparing; they abstained from the use of wine; they were deprived of liberal education, and debarred from fashionable amusements. Women, thus degraded by servility, appeared incapable of giving good sons to the republic, which Lycurgus regarded as the principal duty of the Lacedæmonian females. By the institutions of Sparta, therefore, the working of wool, the labors of the loom and needle, and other mean mechanical arts, were generally committed to servile hands. The free-born women enjoyed and practised those liberal exercises and amusements, which were elsewhere considered

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concern-
ing wo-
men, mar-
riage, and
children.

G. H. A. P. For this most important business of their manhood, they were still farther prepared, by being inured, even in their tender years, to a life of hardship and severity. They wore the same garment, summer and winter; they walked barefooted in all seasons; their diet was plain and frugal, and for the most part so sparing, that they lost no opportunity to supply the defect. What they were unable to ravish by force, they acquired by fraud. When their theft (if theft can be practised where separate property is almost unknown) was discovered, they were severely punished; but if their dexterous deceit escaped observation, they were allowed to boast of their success, and met with due applause for their activity, vigilance, and caution; which indicated a character well fitted to excel in the useful stratagems of war ¹⁰⁰.

Peculiar
discipline
of the
youth.

After attaining the ordinary branches of education, youth are frequently left the masters of their own actions. Of all practical errors, Lycurgus deemed this the most dangerous. His discernment perceived the value of that most important period of life, which intervenes between childhood and virility; and the whole force of his discipline was applied to its direction and improvement. Instead of being loosened from the usual ties of authority, the Spartans, at the age of adolescence, were subjected to a more rigorous restraint; and the most extraordinary expedients

¹⁰⁰ Besides Xenophon and Plutarch, see, for the Spartan education, Plato in Protagoras.

were

were employed to moderate the love of pleasure, to correct the insolence of inexperience, and to control the headstrong impetuosity of other youthful passions. Their bodies were early familiarized to fatigue, hunger, and watching; their minds were early accustomed to difficulty and danger. The laborious exercise of the chase formed their principal amusement; at stated times, the magistrates took an account of their actions, and carefully examined their appearance. If the seeds of their vicious appetites had not been thoroughly eradicated by a life of habitual toil and temperance, they were subjected to corporal punishment, which it was their custom to endure with patient fortitude. The maxims of honor were instilled by precept, and enforced by example. The public tables, which were frequented by all ages, served as so many schools of wisdom and virtue, where, on ordinary occasions, but more particularly on days of festivity, the old related their ancient exploits, and boasted their past prowess; those in the vigor of life displayed the sentiments which their manly courage inspired; and the young expressed a modest confidence that, by steadfastly adhering to the precepts of Lycurgus, they might be enabled in due time to equal, perhaps to surpass, the glory of both.

But the desire of emulating the fame of their illustrious ancestors was not the most ardent principle that animated the minds of the rising generation. They were taught to vie with each other in every agreeable and useful accomplishment.

Their
emulation.

CHAP. As they were publicly educated in separate classes,
III. according to their respective ages of childhood, adolescence, and puberty¹⁰¹, their characters were exactly ascertained and fully known; and the rewards and honors gradually bestowed on them, were apportioned to the various degrees of excellence which they had previously discovered. When they attained the verge of manhood, three youths of superior merit were named by the Ephori, that they might respectively chuse, each an hundred of their companions, who should be entitled to the honorable distinction of serving in the cavalry. The reasons of preference and rejection were openly explained; and the youths who had been set aside, became, from that moment, the rivals and opponents both of the electors and of the elected. At home and abroad, in the assemblies for conversation and exercise, in the gymnastic and musical contests, in their military expeditions, as well as their martial amusements, the two parties displayed the utmost emulation and ardor, the one to regain the equality which they had lost, the other to maintain their ascendant. They seldom rencountered in the streets or walks, without discovering their animosity in mutual reproaches, and sometimes in blows. But these quarrels were not dangerous, either to the safety of the public, or to the persons of individuals, because the com-

¹⁰¹ I have chosen these words to express the successive ages of the *παις*, *μειρακιον*, *εφηβος*. They continued *νεανωτης* till 46, which was reckoned by the Greeks and Romans the beginning of old age. Vld. Cic. de Senectute.

batants were obliged to separate (under the pain of punishment and disgrace) at the peaceful summons of every bystander; and the respected admonitions of age controlled, on such occasions, the youthful fermentation of turbulent passions.

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The reverence of aged wisdom, which formed the prevailing sentiment of the heroic times, was restored by the legislation of Lycurgus, and employed as a main pillar of his political edifice. The renovation of limited government, the equal partition of lands, and the abolition of wealth and luxury, had removed the artificial sources of half the miseries and disgrace of human kind. But Lycurgus considered his system as incomplete, until he had levelled not only the artificial, but many of the natural inequalities, in the condition of his fellow-citizens. The fears and infirmities of the old were compensated by honor and respect; the hopes and vigor of the young were balanced by obedience and restraint. The difference of years thus occasioned little disproportion of enjoyment; the happiness of every age depended on the practice of virtue; and as all adventitious and accidental distinctions were removed, men perceived the importance of personal merit, and of its reward, the public esteem, and eagerly grasped the advantages which glory confers; the only exclusive advantages which the laws of Lycurgus permitted them to enjoy. The paternal authority¹⁰³, which maintained the discipline, and pre-

The paternal authority in Sparta.

¹⁰³ The "patris potestas."

C H. A P. III. moted the grandeur of Rome, was firmly established at Sparta, where every father might exercise an unlimited power, over not only his own, but the children of others, who were all alike regarded as the common sons of the republic. This domestic superiority naturally prepared the way for civil pre-eminence; the elective dignities of the state were obtained only by men of experienced wisdom; and it required sixty years of laborious virtue to be entitled to a seat in the senate-house; the highest ambition of the Spartan chiefs. Such regulations, of which it is impossible to mistake the spirit, had a direct tendence to produce moderation and firmness in the public councils, to control the too impetuous ardor of a warlike people, to allay the ferment of domestic faction, and to check the dangerous ambition of foreign conquest. The power of the magistrate was confounded with the authority of the parent; they mutually assisted and strengthened each other, and their united influence long upheld the unshaken fabric of the Spartan laws, which the old felt it their interest to maintain, and the young deemed it their glory to obey.

Coincidence of the institutions of Lycurgus with those of the heroic ages.

Such were the celebrated institutions of Lycurgus, which are eminently distinguished by the simplicity of their design, the exact adaptation of their parts, and the uniform consistence of the whole, from the political establishments of other countries, which are commonly the irregular and motley production of time and accident. Without a careful examination of the whole system, it

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is impossible to seize the spirit of particular laws. C H A P. III.
 But if the whole be attentively considered, we shall perceive that they contain nothing so original or so singular as is generally believed. From the innumerable coincidences that have been remarked between the heroic and the Spartan discipline, there seems sufficient ground to conclude that the one was borrowed from the other; and if we accurately contemplate the genius of both, we may discern that they tended not (as has been often said) to stop and interrupt, but only to divert, the natural current of human propensities and passions. The desire of wealth and of power, of effeminate ease, of frivolous amusements, and of all the artificial advantages and enjoyments of society, are only so many ramifications of the love of action and of pleasure; passions which it would be impossible to eradicate without destroying the whole vigor of the mind. Yet these propensities, which it is often the vain boast of philosophy to subdue, policy may direct to new and more exalted objects. For the sordid occupations of interest, may be substituted the manly pursuits of honor; the love of virtuous praise, may control the desire of vicious indulgence; and the impressions of early institution, confirmed by example and habit, may render the great duties of life its principal employment and pleasure.

Spirit of
both.

Such a condition of society seems the highest elevation and grandeur to which human nature can aspire. The Spartans attained, and long preserved, this state of exaltation; but several

Fate of the
Spartan
institutions.

Q H A P. circumstances and events, which the wisdom of
 ††† Lycurgus^{††} had foreseen, but which no human power could prevent, undermined the foundation of their greatness and felicity. Their military prowess gave them victory, slaves, and wealth; and though individuals could feel only the pride of virtue, and enjoy only the luxury of glory, the public imbibed the spirit of rapacity and the ambition of conquest. As in other countries the vices of individuals corrupt the community, in Laconia the vices of the public corrupted individuals. This unfortunate tendency was increased by the inequality of the cities originally subject to the Lacedæmonian laws. Sparta, the capital, contained nearly a fourth part of the inhabitants of the whole territory; the rest were divided among thirty, and afterwards eighteen, subordinate towns^{†††}. The superior numbers of the Spartans enlarged their sphere of competition, and increased their ardor of emulation. They soon surpassed their neighbours, not only in valor and address, but in dignity and in power. All matters of importance were decided in the lesser assembly; the greater was seldom summoned; and the members of the former, instead of continuing the equals, became the masters, and at length the tyrants, of their Lacedæmonian brethren. The

^{††} Lycurgus had formed Sparta for defence, not for conquest. He expressly forbade them to pursue a flying enemy; he forbade them to engage frequently in war with the same people. Both injunctions were violated in the Peloponnesian wars.

^{†††} Strabo, l. viii.

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usurpation of power fomented their desire of wealth; several lots were accumulated by the same persons as early as the Persian war¹⁰⁵; and the necessity of defending their possessions, and their authority, against men who had arms in their hands and resentment in their hearts, rendered their government uncommonly rigid and severe. The slaves, the freedmen¹⁰⁶, the tenants of the Laconic territory, and even such of the inhabitants of the capital as, on account of their poverty, cowardice, or any other disgraceful circumstance, were debarred from the dignities of the republic¹⁰⁷, testified the keenest animosity against the stern pride of the Spartan magistrates, and, to use the lively but indelicate expression of Xenophon, would have devoured them raw¹⁰⁸. The Spartans, however, still maintained their superiority by force or by fraud, by seasonable compliance, or by prompt and judicious severity. By dividing the strength they disarmed the fury of their enemies, and the flames of domestic discord were eclipsed by the splendor of foreign conquest, by which both the magistrates and the subjects were enriched and

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III.

¹⁰⁵ Demaratus told Xerxes that there were but eight thousand Spartan lots (Herodot.) and about a century afterwards their number was reduced to one thousand. Arist. Polit.

¹⁰⁶ So I have translated the word *νοδομῶδες*, on the authority of Thucydides, l. v. *δύσται δὲ το νοδομῶδες εὐαίρων ἢν ἔσται*. The resentment even of the freedmen proves the intolerable severity of the government.

¹⁰⁷ They were called *υπομεινους*, inferiors, in opposition to the *ομοιοι*, or peers.

¹⁰⁸ Xenophon, Hellen. l. iii.

C H A P. corrupted: yet, amidst civil discord and political
 III. degeneracy, they still preserved their religious and
 military institutions, as well as their invaluable
 plan of education; and their transactions, even in
 the latest ages of Greece, will furnish an ample and
 honorable commentary on the laws of Lycurgus.

Left trans-
 action of
 Lycurgus,

Concerning this extraordinary man, only one
 farther ^{***} circumstance is recorded with any ap-
 pearance of authenticity; a circumstance highly
 descriptive both of his own character, and of
 the age in which he lived. Having beheld the
 harmony of the political machine, which he had so
 skilfully contrived, he summoned an assembly, and
 declared, that now he had but one new regulation
 to propose, upon which, however, it was first
 necessary to consult the oracle of Delphi; that,
 meanwhile, his countrymen, who had seen the
 success of his labors, would engage that no alter-
 ation should take place before his return. The
 kings, the senate, and the people, ratified the
 engagement by a solemn oath. Lycurgus under-
 took his journey; the oracle predicted the happiness
 which the Spartans should enjoy under his admir-
 able laws; the response was transmitted to his
 country, where Lycurgus himself determined never
 more to return, convinced that the duration of
 the government which he had established would
 be better secured by the eternal sanctity of an
 oath, than by the temporary influence of his own
 personal presence.

^{***} Some contradictory traditions concerning his death are pre-
 served in Plut. in Lycurg. et Justin. l. ii.

CHAP. IV.

State of Greece after the Abolition of Royalty. — Description of Laconia and Messenia. — Causes of the War between those States. — Invasion of Messenia. — Distress of the Messenians. — The horrid Means by which they endeavour to remedy it. — They obtain Assistance from Argos and Arcadia. — Their Capital taken by the Spartans. — Issue of the first Messenian War. — State of Greece. — The Colony of Tarentum founded. — The second Messenian War. — Character and Exploits of Aristomenes. — The Distress of the Spartans. — They obtain Assistance from Athens. — The Poet Tyrtaeus. — Subjugation of Messenia. — Future Fortunes of its Citizens. — Their Establishment in Sicily.

HAD the Greeks remained subject to kings, it is probable that they would have continued longer to exert their united valor against the surrounding Barbarians. The successful adventures of the Argonauts, the glorious, though fatal, expedition against Troy, would have animated the emulation and the hopes of succeeding candidates for fame; and the whole nation, being frequently employed in distant and general enterprises, would, through the habits of mutual intercourse, and the natural tendency of military

CHAP.
IV.
State of
Greece af-
ter the
abolition
of mo-
narchy.

- CHAP. subordination, have been gradually moulded into
 IV. one powerful monarchy. This revolution would have given immediate tranquillity to Greece, but destroyed the prospect of its future grandeur. The honorable competitions of rival provinces must have ceased with their political independence; nor would the Greeks have enjoyed an opportunity of acquiring, by a long and severe apprenticeship in arms, that disciplined valor which eminently distinguished them above other nations of antiquity. In most countries it has been observed, that, before the introduction of regular troops the militia of the borders far excel those of the central provinces. Greece, even under its kings, was divided into so many independent states, that it might be regarded as consisting entirely of frontier. Under the republican form of government, it was still more subdivided; and motives of private ambition now co-operating with reasons of national animosity, wars became more frequent, and battles more bloody and more obstinate. It is little to be regretted that scarcely any materials remain for describing the perpetual hostilities between the Thebans and the Athenians; between the latter and the Peloponnesians; between the Phocians and Theffalians; and, in general, between each community and its neighbours. The long and spirited contest between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, is the only war of that age which produced permanent effects. The relation of this obstinate struggle has happily come down to us, accompanied with such circumstances as

paint the condition of the times, and answer the main ends of history.

The territories of Laconia and Messenia occupied the southern regions of the Peloponnesus. The shores of Laconia were washed by the eastern, or the Ægean; those of Messenia¹, by the western, or the Ionian, Sea. The former country extended forty miles from east to west, and sixty from north to south. The ground, though roughened by mountains, like the rest of the Peloponnesus, abounded in rich and fertile vallies, equally adapted to the purposes of cultivation and pasture. The whole country was anciently called Heatonpolis², from its hundred cities. They were reduced to the number of thirty³ as early as the time of Lycurgus. The decay or destruction of Helos, Amyclæ, Pharis, and Geronthæ, and other less considerable towns, gradually increased the populousness of Sparta, the capital, situate near the centre of Laconia, and almost surrounded by the Eurotas. The other inland places of most note were Geranea, Thurium, and Sellasia. The sea-ports were Præfiæ, Cyphanta, Zarax; Limera, famous for its vines; and Gythium, whose capacious harbour was, in all ages, more than sufficient to contain

IV.

Description of Laconia,

¹ Isærus, in Archidam. calls the country Messenæ; Pausanias, Messenia.

² Strabo, l. viii. p. 362. mentions this only as a hearsay; but it has been always repeated.

³ Strabo says, "about thirty," and calls them *πολῶν*, *οπίδων*, little towns.

C. H. A. P. the naval strength of Sparta⁴. In the time of
IV. Lycurgus, the freemen, of full age, amounted to
 thirty-nine thousand⁵. Those of full age are gene-
 rally reckoned the fourth part of the whole; so
 that the free inhabitants of Laconia may be com-
 puted at one hundred and fifty-six thousand, and
 the slaves, as will appear hereafter, probably ex-
 ceeded four times that number.

and of
 Messenia.

v. Messenia was less extensive, but more fertile,
 than Laconia; and the former country, in ancient
 times, was proportionably more populous. Both
 kingdoms were principally supported by agriculture
 and pasturage, their subjects never having attained
 any high degree of improvement in arts, manu-
 factures, or commerce. Messenia was, however,
 adorned by the seaports of Corone, Pylus, Me-
 thone, and Cyparyssus. The most considerable
 inland towns were Andania, the ancient capital;
 the strong fortress of Eira; the frontier town of
 Ampheia; and the celebrated Ithome, near to the
 ruins of which was erected, by Epaminondas, the
 comparatively modern city of Messene.⁶

Spirit of
 govern-
 ment in
 both com-
 munities.

As the countries of Laconia and Messenia were
 both governed by kings of the family of Hercules,
 and both inhabited by subjects of the same Doric
 race, it might have been imagined that such power-
 ful connexions would have disposed them to con-
 tinue in a state of mutual friendship; or, if the
 ties of blood could not excite neighbouring states

⁴ Strabo, l. viii. p. 363, etc. et Pausan. in Lacon.

⁵ Plut. in Lycur.

⁶ Pausan. in Messen. et Strabo, l. viii. p. 360, etc.

to a reciprocation of good offices, that they would at least have engaged them to maintain an inoffensive tranquillity. The different branches of the family of Hercules were induced by interest, as well as persuaded by affection, mutually to support each other. When the prerogative was invaded in any particular kingdom, it was natural for the neighbouring princes to defend the cause of royalty; and we find that, on several occasions, they had engaged to assist each other in repressing the factious turbulence of the nobles, and the seditious spirit of the people. But when the influence of the family of Hercules declined with the abolition of monarchy in most countries of Greece, the capital of each little principality, which always enjoyed a pre-eminence in the national assemblies, began to usurp an unlimited authority over the neighbouring cities, and to control, by its municipal jurisdiction, the general resolves of the community. Sparta had, in this manner, extended her power over the smaller towns of Laconia. The walls of Helos, whose inhabitants had pertinaciously resisted this usurpation, were levelled with the ground, the citizens reduced to the most miserable slavery, and a law enacted by the Spartan council, which forbade, under severe penalties, the emancipation of the Helots, or the selling of them into foreign countries, where they might entertain the flattering hopes of regaining their lost liberty. The same tyrannical spirit which governed the measures of the Spartans, had taken possession of

CHAP.

IV.

¹ *Isocrat. in Archidam.*

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§ H & T. their neighbours the Messenians, and had urged
IV. the inhabitants of the capital to invade, conquer,
 and enslave several of the smaller cities.

General
 causes of
 the war
 between
 them.

While such ambitious principles prevailed with both nations, it was scarcely to be imagined that the more powerful should not exert its utmost strength to obtain dominion, and the weaker its utmost courage and activity to preserve independence. Besides this general cause of animosity, the rich fields of Messenia offered a tempting prize to the avarice of the Spartans; a circumstance continually alleged by the Messenians, as the principal motive which had induced their enemies to commence an unjust and unprovoked war. The Spartans, however, by no means admitted this reproach. It was natural, indeed, that such differences should arise between the subjects of rival states, as might furnish either party with a plausible pretence for taking arms. These differences it will be proper briefly to relate, after premising, that, although the Greek historians mention three Messenian wars, the third had little resemblance, either in its object, or in its effects, to the first and second. These were the generous struggles of a warlike people for preserving their hereditary freedom and renown, while the third, though dignified with the same appellation, was only an unsuccessful revolt of slaves from their masters.

Their mutual
 injuries.

On the confines of Messenia and Lacedæmon stood an ancient temple of Diana, which, being erected at the common expense, was open to the prayers and sacrifices of the two nations. Hither,

according to annual custom, repaired a select band of Spartan virgins to solemnize the chaste rites of their favorite divinity. A company of Messenian youths arrived at the same time to perform their customary devotion, and to implore the protection of the warlike goddess. Inflamed by the beauty of the Spartan ladies, the Messenians equally disregarded the sanctity of the place, and the modest character of Diana, whose worship they came to celebrate. The licentious youths, after vainly attempting by the most ardent prayers and vows, to move the stern inflexibility of Spartan virtue, had recourse to brutal violence in order to consummate their fatal designs; fatal to themselves, to their country, and to the unhappy victims of their fury, who, unwilling to survive so intolerable a disgrace perished miserably by their own hands*.

To this atrocious injury, on the part of the Messenians, succeeded another, of a more private nature, on that of the Lacedæmonians. Polychares was a Messenian of noble birth, of great wealth, conspicuous for the virtues of public and private life, and renowned for his victories in the Olympic games. The property of Polychares, like that of the most opulent of his countrymen, chiefly consisted in numerous herds of cattle; part of which he intrusted to a Lacedæmonian, of the name of Euephnus, who undertook, for a stipulated reward, to feed them on the rich meadows

O H A P.
IV.

Euephnus,
the Lacedæmoni-
an, de-
frauds the
Messenian
Polycha-
res.
Olymp.
ix. 1.
A. C. 744.

* Pausan. in Messen. p. 222. The Messenians denied this whole transaction, and substituted a more improbable story in its stead. Pausan. *ibid.*

© H A P. which he possessed on the Lacedæmonian coast.

IV. The avarice of Euephnus was not restrained by the sense of duty, the principles of honor, or the sacred ties of hospitality. Having sold the cattle to foreigners, who often came to purchase that article in Laconia, he travelled to the Messenian capital, and visiting his friend Polychares, lamented the loss of his property by the incursion of pirates.

Assassin-
ates his
son.

The frequency of such events would, probably, have concealed the fraud; but a slave, whom Euephnus sold along with the cattle; having escaped the vigilance of his new masters, arrived in time to undeceive the generous credulity of Polychares. The perfidious Lacedæmonian, seeing his contrivance thus unexpectedly disconcerted, endeavoured to deprecate the just resentment of his friend, by the most humiliating confession of his guilt, and by insisting on the temptation of gain, the frailty of nature^{*}; the sincerity of his repentance, and his earnest desire of making immediate restitution. Unfortunately, indeed, he had not any considerable sum of money in his possession; but if Polychares would allow his son to accompany him to Lacedæmon, he would put into the hands of the youth the full price which he had received for his father's property. On this occasion it is easier to pity the misfortune, than excuse the

^{*} Εν γὰρ τῇ ἀνθρώπινη φύσει, καὶ ἄλλαν ἐνόντων, ἐφ' ὧς βιάζεσθαι ἀδίκαι γίνεσθαι, τὰ κέρδη μεγίστην ἀνάγκην ἔχει. PAUSAN.

Et l'intérêt enfin, père de tous les crimes.

HENRIADE.

weakness,

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 161

weakness of the Messenian. The youth had no sooner set foot on the Lacedæmonian territory, than the traitor Euephnus stabbed him to the heart.

The afflicted father, assembling his friends and followers, travelled to Sparta, and implored the just vengeance of the laws against the accumulated guilt of perfidy and murder. In vain he repeatedly addressed himself to the kings, to the Ephori, to the senate, and to the assembly. The money, the eloquence, the intrigues of Euephnus, and, above all, his character of Spartan, prevailed over the impotent solicitations of a Messenian stranger. Polychares, provoked by the cruel disregard of the Lacedæmonians to his just demands, determined to return home; but having lost his understanding through rage and despair, he assaulted and slew several Spartan citizens whom he met on the road; and after thus quenching his resentment against the guilty in the blood of the innocent, he was conducted by the assistance of his friends to his native country.

He had not long returned to Andania, when ambassadors arrived from the Spartan senate, demanding the person of such an atrocious and open offender. The Messenians assembled to deliberate on this request; and Androcles and Antiochus, who were jointly invested with the regal power, having differed, as usually happened, in their opinions, each prince was supported by the strength of a numerous faction. The debate was decided by an expedient often adopted in such tumultuary assemblies. Both parties had recourse to arms,

C H A P.

IV.

Polychares takes vengeance on the Spartans.

The Spartan senate demands his person.

G H A P.

IV.

The Messenians refuse to comply, but offer to refer the dispute to the Amphictyons.

and the sedition being fatal to Androcles, the opinion of Antiochus prevailed, who declared against delivering Polychares into the power of his enraged enemies. But Antiochus, though he denied the unreasonable demand of the Spartan ambassadors, dismissed them with a proposal, which left them no room to complain of injustice. He offered, in the name of the Messenian assembly, to refer all the differences between the two nations to the respected council of the Amphictyons. This equitable proposal, which ill suited the ambitious designs of Sparta, was not honored with an answer from that republic, who, desirous to acquire the rich fields of Messenia, prepared for taking arms; and having completed her preparations, bound her citizens, by oath, never to desist from hostility till they had effected their purpose¹⁰.

The Spartans surprise Amphibia. Olymp. ix. 2. A. C. 743.

Without an open declaration of war (for ambition had extinguished every sentiment of piety) they invaded the Messenian frontier, and attacked the small town of Amphibia, which, from its advantageous situation on a rock, seemed equally proper for infesting the enemy, and securing their own retreat¹¹. The time chosen for the assault was the dead of night, when the unsuspecting inhabitants reposed in full confidence of their accustomed security. There was neither centinel

¹⁰ Strabo expresses this oath strongly but oddly, Ὀμοσάντες μὴ πρότερον ἐπανήξειν οἰκάδε, πρὶν ἢ Μεσσηνὴν ἀνελθῇν ἢ πάντας ἀποθάνειν. "Having sworn not to return home before that they either took Messene, or that they all died."

¹¹ Ὀβμηπηριον ἐπιτηδεύον. PAUSAN.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 163

at the gates; nor garrison within the place. C H A P.
 The alarm was immediately followed by exe- IV.
 cution. Many Ampheians were assassinated in
 their beds; several fled to the altars of the gods,
 the sanctity of which proved a feeble protection
 against the Spartan cruelty; and a miserable rem-
 nant escaped to diffuse the melancholy tidings of
 their unexpected calamity.

On this important emergency Euphaes, who
 had succeeded to the throne of his father An-
 tiochus, summoned a general assembly of his coun-
 trymen to the plain of Stenyclara; where, after
 hearing the opinion of others concerning the criti-
 cal situation of their affairs, he declared his own
 sentiments, which were full of honor and magna-
 nimity: "That the final event of the war was not
 " to be conjectured by its unfortunate beginning;
 " the Messenians, though less inured to arms than
 " their warlike opponents, would acquire both
 " skill and courage in pursuing the measures of a
 " just defence; and the gods, protectors of inno-
 " cence, would make the struggles of virtuous
 " liberty prevail over the rude assaults of violence
 " and ambition." The discourse of Euphaes was
 received with shouts of applause; and the Messe-
 nians, by advice of their king, abandoned the open
 country, and settled in such of their towns as were
 best fortified by art or nature, leaving the remain-
 der to the invasion of an enemy, with whose bra-
 very and numbers their own weakness was yet un-
 able to contend. But while they kept within their
 walls, they continued to exercise themselves in

Spirited
 resolutions
 of the Mes-
 senians;

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G H A P. arms, and to acquire such vigor and discipline, as
IV. might enable them to oppose the Spartans in the
 field. Four years elapsed from the taking of Am-
 pheia before they ventured to embrace this dan-
 gerous measure. During all that time, the Spar-
 tans made annual incursions into their country, de-
 stroying their harvests, and carrying into captivity
 such straggling parties as they happened to surprize.
 They took care, however, not to demolish the
 houses, to cut down the wood, or otherwise to dis-
 figure or desolate a country, which they already
 regarded as their own.

who deter-
 mine to
 risk a bat-
 tle;
 Olymp.
 x. 1.
 A. C. 740.

The Messenians, on the other hand, as their
 courage continued to increase, were not contented
 with defending their own walls, but detached, in
 small parties, the boldest of their warriors to ravage
 the sea-coast of Laconia. Encouraged by the suc-
 cess of these predatory expeditions, Euphaes de-
 termined to take the field with the flower of the
 Messenian nation. The army of freemen was at-
 tended by an innumerable crowd of slaves, carry-
 ing wood and other materials necessary for encamp-
 ment. Thus prepared, they put themselves in
 motion, and, before they reached the frontier,
 were seen by the Spartan garrison of Amphieia,
 who immediately sounded the alarm of an ap-
 proaching enemy. The Spartans flew to arms
 with more than their wonted alacrity, delighted
 with the opportunity for which they had so long
 wished in vain, of deciding, at one blow, the event
 of a tedious war. The hostile armies approached
 with a celerity proportioned to the fury of their

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 165

resentment, and arrived, with high expectations, at the intermediate plain which overspread the confines of the two kingdoms. But there the martial ardor of the troops received a check, which had not been foreseen by their commanders. The rivulet, intersecting the plain, was swelled by the rains into a torrent. This circumstance prevented a general engagement. The cavalry alone (amounting on either side to about five hundred horse) passed near the head of the ravine, and contended in an indecisive skirmish; while the fury of the infantry evaporated in empty boasts and unavailing insults. Night insensibly came on, during which the Messenians fortified their camp with so much skill, that the enemy, rather than venture to storm it, preferred to return home, after an expedition, which, considering their superiority in numbers, appeared no less inglorious than ineffectual.

The pusillanimous behaviour of the Spartan army deserved not the approbation of the senate. The severe fathers of the republic upbraided the degeneracy of the youth, who no longer paid regard to the sanctity of the oath which they had taken, never to lay down their arms until they had completely subdued the Messenians. The spirit of the senate was soon diffused through the community; and it was determined, in the general assembly of the nation, to prepare for carrying on a more fierce war than the enemy had yet experienced. At the approach of autumn, the season always preferred for the predatory expeditions of

C H A P.

IV.

which
proves in-
decisive.

Spartans
prepare for
carrying
on the war
with vi-
gor.

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C H A P. those early times, all the Spartans of military age,
IV. as well as the inhabitants of the subordinate towns
of Laconia, known by the general name of Lacedæmonians, were ready to take the field. After
Number of their forces. leaving a sufficient body of troops for the internal safety of the country, the number that might be spared abroad, probably amounted to about twenty thousand men. This powerful army was still farther increased by the confluence of strangers, particularly the Affinians and Dryopians, who fled from the cruel tyranny of Argos, a republic no less blamable than Sparta, for oppressive severity towards her weaker neighbours. Besides this reinforcement, the Spartans hired a considerable body of archers from Crete, to oppose the horse and light infantry of the Messenians. The management of the expedition was intrusted to the Spartan kings Theopompus and Polydorus; the former of whom commanded the right, and the latter the left wing, while the central division was committed to the discretion and valor of Euryleon, who, though born in Sparta, was descended of the royal race of Theban Cadmus.

Second engagement.
Olymp.
x. 2.
A. C. 739.

Ancient writers have neglected to mention the scene of this second engagement, which Pausanias has, with more diffusiveness than accuracy, described in his historical journey through Messenia; but it is reasonable to conjecture, from this omission, that both the first and second battles happened near the same place, on the extensive plain which connects the frontiers of the two kingdoms.

The Messenians were inferior, both in numbers C H A P.
IV. and in discipline, but ardent in the cause of every thing most dear to them. Euphaes headed their left wing, which opposed the division of Theopompus; Pytharatus led the right; and Cleonnis commanded the centre. Before the signal was given for charge, the commanders addressed their respective troops. Theopompus, with Laconic brevity, "reminded the Spartans of their oath, "and of the glory which their ancestors had acquired by subduing the territories of their neighbours." Euphaes, at greater length, animated his soldiers to victory, by describing the fatal consequences of a defeat. "Their lands and fortunes were not the only objects of contention: "they had already experienced the Spartan cruelty "in the unhappy fate of Ampheia, where all the "men of a military age had been put to the "sword; the women, as well as the children, with "their aged parents, subjected to an ignominious "servitude; their temples burnt or plundered; "the city levelled with the ground; and the "country desolated. The calamities, hitherto "confined to that little district, would be diffused "over the whole of their beautiful territory, unless "the active bravery of Messenia should now, by a "noble effort of patriotism, overcome the numbers and discipline of Sparta." Encouraged by the ardor of their prince, the Messenians rather ran than marched to the battle. As they approached the enemy, they threatened them with their eyes and gestures, reproaching them with an

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CHAP. IV. insatiable avidity for wealth and power, an unnatural disregard to the ties of blood, an impious contempt for their common gods, and particularly for the revered name of Hercules; the acknowledged founder and patron of both kingdoms. From words of reproach they made an easy transition to deeds of violence. Many quitted their ranks, and assailed the embattled phalanx of the Spartans. The wounded spent the last exertions¹² of their strength in signal acts of vengeance, or employed their last breath in conjuring their companions to imitate the example of their bravery; and to maintain, by an honorable death, the safety and renown of their country. To the generous ardor of the Messenians, Sparta opposed the assured intrepidity of disciplined valor. Her citizens, inured to the use of arms, closed their ranks, and remained firm in their respective posts. Where the enemy in any part gave way, they followed them with an undisturbed progress; and endeavoured, by the continuance of regular exertion, to overcome the desultory efforts of rage, fury, and despair¹³.

Pierceness
and ob-
stinacy of the
combat-
ants.

Such were the principal differences in the sentiments and conduct of two armies, both of which

¹² Agreeably to the melancholy firmness of the advice afterwards given by Tyrtæus to the Spartans,

Και τις ἀποθνήσκων ὕστατ' ἀκιντιστατο.

TYRTÆUS, edit. Glaf. p. 4. ver. 5.

¹³ The mode of fighting in that age is forcibly described by Tyrtæus, p. 7. edit. Glaf. Ἀλλὰ τις ἐν διαβάς μιντω ποσὶ ἀμφοτέρωσιν, to the end of the poem.

were alike animated by the love of glory and the desire of vengeance; passions which they carried to such a length, that there was no example, on either side, of a soldier who deigned to seek for quarter, or who attempted to soothe, by the promise of a large ransom, the unrelenting cruelty of the victors. Emulation and avarice conspired in despoiling the bodies of the slain. Amidst this barbarous employment, which custom only rendered honorable; many met with an untimely fate; for while they stripped the dead with the rashness of blind avidity, they often exposed their own persons to the darts and swords of their enemies; and sometimes the dying, by a fortunate wound, soothed the agonies of the present moment, and retaliated their past sufferings on their unguarded despoilers.

The kings, who had hitherto been satisfied with leading their troops to action, and sharing the common danger, longed, as the battle began to warm, to signalize their valor in single combat. With this design Theopompus, listening only to his courage, first marched towards Euphaes, who, seeing him approach, cried out to his companions, "Does not Theopompus well imitate the bloody-minded Polynices²⁴, who, at the head of an army of strangers, levied war against his native country, and, with his own hand, slew a brother, by whom, at the same instant, he himself was slain? In like manner does Theopompus, with unnatural hatred, persecute his kinsmen

C H A P.

IV.

The Spartan and Messenian kings prepare to engage in single combat;—

²⁴ See above, p. 26.

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- C H A P.** "of the race of Hercules; but I trust he shall
IV. "meet the punishment due to his impiety." At
 prevented by the ardor of their troops. fight of this interesting spectacle, the troops were inspired with new ardor, and the battle raged with redoubled fury. The chosen bands, who respectively watched the safety of the contending princes, became insensible to personal danger, and only solicitous to preserve the sacred persons of their kings. The strength of Sparta, at length, began to yield to the activity of her rivals. The troops of Theopompus were broken and thrown into disorder; and the reluctant prince was himself compelled to retire. At the same time the right wing of the Messenians, having lost their leader Pytharatus, yielded to the exertions of Polydorus and his Spartans: But neither this general, nor king Euphaes, thought proper to pursue the flying enemy. It seemed more expedient to strengthen, with their victorious troops, the central divisions of their respective armies, which still continued to fight with obstinate valor, and doubtful success. Night at length put an end to the engagement, which had proved extremely humiliating to both parties; for next morning neither offered to renew the battle, neither ventured to erect a trophy of victory; while both craved a suspension of arms, for the purpose of interring the dead; a demand generally construed as an acknowledgment of defeat.
- Extraordinary issue of the battle.** Although the immediate effects of the battle were alike destructive to the Spartans and to the Messenians, its remote consequences were peculiarly
- Its remote consequences.**

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 171

ruinous to the latter. They were less rich and less numerous than their opponents; their army could not be recruited with the same facility; many of their slaves were bribed into the enemy's service; and a pestilential distemper, concurring with other misfortunes, reduced them to the last extremity of distress. The Spartans, meanwhile, carried on their annual incursions with more than usual cruelty, involving the husbandman, with his labors, in undistinguished ruin, and destroying by fire and sword the wretched inhabitants of the unfortified cities. The miserable ravages to which these cities were continually exposed, obliged the Messenians to abandon them, and to seek refuge among the almost inaccessible mountains of Ithomè; a place which, though situate near the frontiers of Laconia, afforded them the securest retreat amidst their present calamities, being strongly fortified by nature, and surrounded by a wall, which bid defiance to the battering engines known in that early age.

The Messenians, thus defended against external assaults, were still exposed to the danger of perishing by famine. The apprehension of this new calamity gave additional poignancy to the feelings of their unhappy situation, and increased the horrors of the pestilence which raged more fiercely than ever among men cooped up within a narrow fortress. Under the pressure of present, and the dread of future evil, their minds were favorably disposed for admitting the terrors of superstition. A messenger was sent to Delphi to inquire by what

C H A P.
IV.

The Messenians shut themselves up in the fortress Ithomè.

Their sufferings there.

C H A P. sacrifice they might appease the resentment of the
IV. angry gods. On his return to Ithomè, he de-

Prepare to
sacrifice a
virgin of
the royal
blood,

who is
withdrawn
by her fa-
ther.

Aristode-
mus de-
votes his
own
daughter.

The Messenians prepared, in full assembly, to obey the horrid mandate. The lots were cast, and the daughter of Lyciscus was declared worthy of atoning, by her blood, for the sins of the prince and people: But the father, who was only a distant branch of the royal family, allowed his paternal affection to prevail over the dictates of both his patriotism and his piety. By his advice, Ephebolus, a diviner, opposed the sacrifice, asserting that the pretended princess was not what she appeared, but a supposititious child, whom the artifice of the wife of Lyciscus had adopted to conceal her barrenness. While the remonstrances of the diviner engaged the attention of the assembly, Lyciscus privately withdrew his daughter, and, escaping unobserved through the gates of Ithomè, sought protection, against the cruelty of fortune and of his friends, among the unrelenting enemies of his country.

He had already made considerable progress in his journey towards Sparta, when the discovery of his departure threw the Messenians into great consternation; nor is it easy to determine what might have been the effect of their superstitious terrors, had not Aristodemus, another branch of the Herculean stock, and still less distinguished by birth than merit, voluntarily offered to devote his own child for the public safety. But this sacrifice was

likewise opposed by a youth, who, passionately in love with the intended victim, cried out, that the young lady had been betrothed to him, and that it belonged to her destined husband, not to her inhuman father, to dispose of her life and fortune. When his noisy clamors were little regarded by the assembly, he had the effrontery to assert, that the daughter of Aristodemus could not answer the condition required by the oracle; that, even before the nuptial rites had been consummated, she had pitied the violence of his passion, and that now she carried in her womb the fruit of their unhappy loves. Aristodemus, hearing this declaration, was seized with rage and indignation at the unmerited disgrace thrown on his family. "It then appeared," says an ancient author¹⁵, "with what ease destiny tarnishes the feeble virtues of men, as the slime of a river does the shining ornaments which cover its humid bed." The angry father plunged his dagger into the breast of his unfortunate daughter, and, with horrid barbarity, opening her womb in the presence of the amazed assembly, demanded justice on the infamous impostor who had traduced her virtue. The Messenians were still farther irritated against the youth, in consequence of the opinion of Ephebolus, who declared that another victim must be sought to appease the anger of the gods, because Aristodemus had sacrificed his

C H A P.

IV.

Her lover
opposes
this design.

She is slain
by her fa-
ther.

¹⁵ Pausanias, p. 232. This might satisfy the superstition of antiquity, but will appear, in modern times, a poor excuse for such a shocking barbarity.

C H A P. daughter, not in obedience to the oracle, but to gratify the impetuous passion of his own ungovernable soul. The rage of the assembly would have speedily sent the lover to attend the shade of his mistress; but fortunately he was beloved and pitied by king Euphaes, whose authority controuled, on this occasion, the audacious insolence of a priest, and checked the wild fury of the populace. The king asserted that Apollo had reason to complain of their disobedience: The god demanded the blood of a virgin, a virgin had been slain; but neither did the Pythia determine, nor belonged it to them to inquire, by whose hands, or from what motive, the victim should be put to death.

Obstinate
defence of
the Mes-
senians,

The oracle, thus favorably interpreted by the wisdom of the prince, not only allayed the frantic rage, but restored the fainting hopes, of the people. They determined to defend their capital to the last extremity; and this generous resolution, which they maintained inviolate during the course of several years, was justified by obstinate exertions of valor.

who pro-
cure assist-
ance from
Argos and
Arcadia.

The spirited and persevering efforts of the Messenians, as well as the proud tyranny of Sparta, tended to procure, to the weaker state, several useful alliances among the neighbouring republics. Of all the communities inhabiting the Peloponnesus, the Corinthians alone, as a maritime and commercial people, entertained little jealousy of the Spartans; while the Argives and Arcadians, from proximity of situation, as well as interference

of interest and ambition, held the disciples of Lycurgus in peculiar detestation. By the assistance of these powerful allies, the Messenians gained considerable advantages in two general engagements; in the former of which their king Euphaes, betrayed by the ardor of success into an unequal combat, was overpowered by numbers, and slain in the action. The valor of Aristodemus was called by the voice of the people to fill the vacant throne; and his conduct in war justified the high opinion entertained of him by his countrymen. For five years he baffled the aspiring hopes of the Spartans; defeated them in several desultory encounters; and, in a pitched battle, fought near the walls of Ithomè, overcame the principal strength of their republic, assisted by that of the Corinthians.

This victory, though obtained by stratagem rather than by superiority of courage or discipline, threw the Spartan senate into the greatest perplexity, and deprived them of the expectation of putting a speedy, or even a fortunate, end to the war. In their distress they had recourse to the same oracle, which had relieved the afflictions of the Messenians. As the policy of the god seldom sent away, in ill humor, the votaries of his shrine, the destruction of Ithomè was announced with prophetic obscurity. The Spartans, with revived hopes, again took the field; and their new ardor was successful in several skirmishes with the Messenians, who, harassed by an open, were still more fatally oppressed by a secret foe. The people were

C H A P.
IV.

Their
transient
success.

Ithomè at
length sur-
rendered.

C H A P. again seized with superstitious terrors. Dreams,
IV. visions, and other prodigies confirmed the melancholy prediction of Apollo. The impatient temper of Aristodemus made him withdraw, by a voluntary death, from the evils which threatened his country. The other leaders of greatest renown had perished in the field. Ithomè, deprived of its principal support, and invested more closely than before, was compelled, after a siege of five months, to submit to the slow but irresistible impressions of famine. Such of its inhabitants as were entitled to the benefit of hospitality in Sicyon, Argos, or Arcadia, travelled with all possible expedition into those countries. The sacred families, who were attached to the ministry of Ceres, sought a secure refuge among the venerable priests of Eleusis, in Attica. The greater part of the people dispersed themselves through the interior towns and villages, endeavouring, in the obscurity of their ancient habitations, to elude the industrious search of an unrelenting enemy¹⁶.

Olymp.
 xiv. 1.
 A. C. 724.

Consequences of
 the first
 Messenian
 war.

The Lacedæmonians, having thus obtained possession of the Messenian capital, discovered signal gratitude to their gods, fidelity to their allies, and cruelty to their enemies. Ithomè was demolished to the foundation. Of its spoil, three tripods were consecrated to Amyclean Apollo. The first was adorned with the image of Venus, the second with that of Diana, and the third with the figures of Ceres and Proserpine. To the

¹⁶ Pausan. Messen. et Strabo, l. viii.

Affinians,

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 177

Affinians; who had assisted them with peculiar
 alacrity in the war, the Spartans gave that beautiful
 portion of the Messenian coast, which assumed; and
 long retained, the name of its new inhabitants.
 They rewarded the good intentions of the Mes-
 senian Androcles, who, at the commencement of
 the war, had discovered his partiality for Sparta,
 by bestowing on his descendants the fertile district
 Hyamia. The rest of the Messenian nation were
 treated with all the rigor of Spartan policy. They
 were obliged to take an oath of allegiance to their
 proud victors; to present them every year with
 half the produce of their soil, and, under pain of
 the severest punishment, to appear in mourning
 habits, at the funerals of the Spartan kings and
 magistrates ¹⁷.

C H A P.
 IV.

After the close of the first Messenian war, Greece
 appears, for several years, to have enjoyed an unusual
 degree of tranquillity. Peace promoted population;
 and the inhabitants of Peloponnesus continued to
 diffuse their numerous colonies over the islands of
 Sicily and Corcyra, as well as over the southern
 division of Italy, afterwards known by the name
 of Magna Græcia ¹⁸. In this delicious country two
 considerable establishments were formed, about

State of
 Greece at
 that time.

¹⁷ Pausan. *ibid*.

¹⁸ This name, as will be proved hereafter, denoted the Greek settlements both in Italy and Sicily. The colonies there became, in progress of time, perhaps more considerable than the mother-country. Their proceedings will be fully related in the following work; but not until their transactions enter into the general system of Grecian politics.

CHAP. IV. the same time, the one at Rhegium, and the other at Tarentum. Rhegium, situate on the southern extremity of the continent, soon acquired the ascendant over the neighbouring cities; and Tarentum, having become the most powerful community on the eastern coast, had the honor of giving name to the spacious bay, which penetrates so deeply into Italy, that it almost unites the Tuscan and the Ionian seas.

The particular causes which occasioned, or the various consequences which attended, these several migrations, are not related in ancient history; the Lacedæmonian establishment at Tarentum was alone marked by such circumstances as have merited, on account of their singularity, to be handed down to succeeding ages.

The Lacedæmonians found Tarentum in Italy.

During the second expedition²⁹ of the Spartans against Messenia, the army, consisting of the greater part of the citizens who had attained the military age, bound themselves, by oath, not to return home until they had subdued their enemies. This engagement detained them several years in the field, during which Sparta, inhabited only by women, children, and helpless old men, produced no succeeding generation to support the future glories of the republic. Sensible of this inconvenience, which, in a warlike and ambitious state, surrounded by warlike and ambitious rivals, might

²⁹ They had taken the same oath in the first expedition: but it appears from Pausanias, that they did not observe it. The senators upbraided the youth with cowardice and contempt of their oath, διδίωνται τε ὅπως ὑπερβῶσι. PAUSAN. p. 258.

have been productive of the most dangerous consequences, the senate recalled such young men as, having left their country before they had attained the military age, were not under any obligation to keep the field; and enjoined them to associate promiscuously with the married women, that the city might thus be preserved from decay and desolation. The children born of these useful, though irregular connexions, were distinguished by the name of Partheniæ; probably denoting the condition of their mothers *. They had no certain father; nor were they entitled, though citizens of Sparta, to any private inheritance. These circumstances kept them a distinct body, the members of which were attached by the strictest friendship to each other, and hostile to the rest of the community.

This dangerous disposition was still farther increased by the imprudent behaviour of the Spartans, who, on their return from the conquest of Messenia, treated the Partheniæ with the most supercilious contempt. The young men could endure poverty and misfortune, but could not brook disgrace. Their unhappy situation, and the impatience with which they submitted to it, naturally connected them with the Helots, those miserable slaves whose just indignation ever prompted them to revolt from the cruel tyranny of their masters. A conspiracy was formed; the

C H A P.
IV.

Conspira-
cy of the
Partheniæ
and He-
lots.

* *Παρθέναι*. Filii nati ex eâ, quæ quum duceretur, virgo
non erat. ARISTOT. Polit. I. v. c. 7.

CHAP. day, place, and signal were determined, upon
 iv. which the Partheniæ and Helots, armed with
 concealed daggers, and with the most hostile fury,
 should retaliate, in the public assembly, their past
 sufferings and insults on the unsuspecting superiority
 of the proud lords of Sparta. The time approached,
 and the design was ripe for execution, when the
 president of the assembly ordered the crier to
 proclaim, That none present should throw up
 his cap (for that had been the signal appointed
 by the conspirators); and thus clearly intimated
 that the plot had been discovered, and that the
 Spartans were prepared to meet and to overcome
 the dangerous treachery of their dependants.
 We are not informed of the punishment inflicted
 on the Helots, or whether, as the conspiracy
 had been laid open by one of their number,
 the merit of an individual was allowed to atone
 for the guilt of the society. The Partheniæ,
 however, were treated with a remarkable degree
 of lenity, suggested, probably, by the fears,
 rather than by the humanity of Sparta²¹. They
 were not only allowed to escape unpunished from
 their native country, but furnished with every
 thing necessary for undertaking a successful expe-
 dition against the neighbouring coasts; and thus
 enabled to establish themselves under their leader
 Phalantus, in the delightful recesses of the Taren-
 tine gulph²².

²¹ Ephor. apud Strab. l. vi.

²² Pausan. Phoc.

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The Spartans, when delivered from the danger of this formidable conspiracy, enjoyed, above thirty years, domestic as well as public peace, until again disturbed by the revolt of the Messenians. The dishonorable conditions imposed on that people, the toilsome labors to which most of them were necessarily condemned, in order to produce the expected tribute; the natural fertility of the soil, augmented by industry, and augmenting in its turn the populousness of the country; all these causes conspired to sharpen their resentment, to embitter their hostility, and to determine them, at every hazard, to expose their fortune to the decision of the sword. The negligence of Sparta was favorable to the progress of rebellion. While she degraded the Messenians by the most humiliating marks of servitude, she allowed them, however, to rebuild their cities, to assemble in the public places, and to communicate to each other their mutual grievances and complaints. To reward the services of Androcles, the Messenian king, she had bestowed on his family the rich province of Hyamia; but the descendants of that prince preferring the duties of patriotism to the dictates of gratitude, countenanced and encouraged the warlike dispositions of his countrymen. The young men of Andania longed to take up arms. They were headed by Aristomenes, a youth descended from the ancient line of Messenian kings, adorned with the most extraordinary qualities of mind and body, and whose exploits, if instead of being sung by Rhianus, and related by Pausanias, they

IV.
The Messenians
prepare to
revolt.

Olymp.
xxiii. 4.
A. C. 685.

CHAP. IV. had been described by Xenophon, or celebrated by Homer, would place him in the first rank of Grecian heroes.

Obtain assistance from the Argives and Arcadians.

In entering upon this memorable war the Messenians consulted the dictates of prudence, at the same time that they indulged the motives of animosity and ambition. Before discovering their intention to take arms, they dispatched messengers to the Arcadians and Argives, intimating their inclination to throw off the yoke of Sparta, provided they could depend on the hearty assistance of their ancient allies. The Argives and Arcadians were naturally enemies to their warlike and ambitious neighbours; and, at this particular juncture, the enmity of the former towards Sparta was, by recent injuries, kindled into resentment. Both nations confirmed, by the most flattering promises, the resolution of the Messenians, who, with uncommon unanimity and concert, sought deliverance from the oppressive severity of their tyrants.

The battle of Derae.

Bravery and moderation of Aristomenes.

The first engagement was fought at Derae, a village of Messenia. The soldiers, on both sides, behaved with equal bravery; the victory was doubtful; but Aristomenes, the Messenian, acquired unrivalled glory and renown. On the field of battle he was saluted king by the admiring gratitude of his countrymen. He declined, however, the dangerous honors of royalty, declaring himself satisfied with the appellation of General, which, in that age, implied a superiority in martial exercises, as well as in the knowledge

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of war, and in the experience of command. The Messenian excelled in all these, and possessed, besides, a degree of military enthusiasm, which, as it was employed to retrieve the desperate affairs of his country, deserves to be for ever remembered and admired. Sensible how much depended on the auspicious beginning of the war, he immediately marched to Sparta, entered the city, which was neither walled nor lighted, during night; and suspended in the temple of Minerva a buckler, inscribed with his name, as a monument of his success against the enemy, and an offering to procure the good-will of that warlike goddess.

The hardness of this exploit was rivalled by the singular intrepidity of his companions Panormus and Gonippus. While the Lacedæmonians celebrated, in their camp, the festival of their heroes Castor and Pollux, the two youths of Andania, mounted on fiery steeds, with lances in their hands, and a purple mantle flowing over their white vestments, presented themselves in the midst of the joyous assembly. The superstitious crowd, dissolved in mirth and wine, imagined that their heavenly protectors had appeared in a human form, in order to grace the festival established in their honor²¹. As they approached, unarmed, to pay their obeisance to the divine brothers of Helen, the young Messenians couched their spears, attacked

The singular exploits of Panormus and Gonippus.

²¹ Pausanias, p. 266. However surprising this credulity may appear in the present age, it is attested by the most unquestionable evidence. Striking instances of it will occur in later periods of the Greek history.

C H A P. companions, he charged the principal division of
 IV. the Spartan army, commanded by the king in person. The resistance was obstinate, and lasted for several hours. When the Spartans began to give way, Aristomenes ordered a new body of troops to complete his success, to rout and pursue the enemy. He, with his little but determined band, attacked a second division of the Laedæmonians, which still continued firm in its post. Having compelled these also to retreat, he, with amazing rapidity, turned the valor of his troops against a third, and then against a fourth brigade", both of which giving ground, the whole army was put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter. The merit of these achievements was, on the return of Aristomenes, celebrated with great pomp at Andania. The men received their favorite hero with joyous acclamations; and the women, strowing his way with flowers, sung in his praise a stanza that has reached modern times, expressing, with elegant simplicity, the glorious victory obtained over the Lacedæmonians.

The tribute of just applause paid to the virtues of Aristomenes inspired him with a generous ambition to deserve the sincerest gratitude of his countrymen. With unremitting activity he continued, with his little band of faithful adherents,

¹¹ Pausanias acknowledges that the exploits of Aristomenes, in this engagement, almost exceed belief. Pausan. *Messen*. There is a remarkable coincidence in the character and exploits, as well as in the situation, of Aristomenes, and those of the celebrated Scottish patriot Wallace. *Vid. Buphan. Hist. Scot. l. xiii. passim.*

to over-run the hostile territory, to destroy the defenceless villages, and to carry the inhabitants into servitude. The towns of Phææ, Carya, and Egila successively experienced the fatal effects of his ravages. In the first, he found a considerable booty, in money and commodities; in the second, he found a booty still more precious, the daughters of the principal inhabitants dancing in the chorus of Diana, whom he honorably protected against the licentious violence of his followers, and restored, uninjured, for the ransom offered by their parents. After attacking Egila, Aristomenes met with an unexpected check from the enthusiasm of the Spartan matrons, who were offering sacrifice to Ceres in a neighbouring temple, long held in peculiar veneration. As soon as they perceived the approach of the enemy, the women, who, according to the institutions of Lycurgus, had been trained to all the manly exercises of the other sex, issued forth from the temple, and assailing the Messenians with knives, hatchets, burning torches, and the other instruments of sacrifice, threw them into disorder, wounded several of the soldiers, and seized the person of their commander. Next day, however, Aristomenes was delivered from captivity, through the good offices of Archidamea, priestess of Ceres, whose susceptible heart had long admired and loved the merit and renown of the brave Messenian.

The amazing success of the Messenians, which, in the course of three years had been interrupted

C H A P.
IV.

The Spartans animated by Tyrtæus.

C H A P. IV. only by this inconsiderable accident, disposed the Spartan kings to abandon the war, and to allow their enemies to enjoy the honor and advantages which they had so bravely earned. This resolution was approved by the senate and assembly. The allies of Sparta readily adopted the same opinion. Tyrtæus alone opposed the disgraceful measure, with all the force of his authority. The sacred character of the bard, with the divine influence of his poetry, prevailed; and the Spartans again entered Messenia with an army, as numerous and powerful as any they had before collected. But at sight of the Messenian troops, headed by Aristomenes, they were thrown into new consternation. The dreaded prowess of their heroic antagonist, which they had so often and so fatally experienced, continually presented itself to their minds; and the inspired arts of Tyrtæus were again necessary to resist the increasing panic. A second time he revived their drooping courage, while he expatiated on the glory of ancient warriors; the magnanimity of despising fortune; the praise and honors of valor; the joys and rewards of victory²⁶. These sentiments, dictated by the true spirit of heroism, fired their minds with martial ardor. Disregarding the sweets of life, they longed for an honorable death. One consideration only (such was the superstition of ancient times) damped the generous warmth that animated their souls. In an engagement, which there was every reason to believe

²⁶ Tyrtæus, p. 2 and 3. edit. Glasg.

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would be fought with the most obstinate valor on both sides, what crowds of warriors must fall, whose bodies, heaped together in horrid confusion, could not be recognised by their friends, or obtain, with due solemnity, the sacred rites of funeral! This melancholy thought, which chilled the boldest heart with religious horror, might have formed an insurmountable obstacle to their success, had not their terrors been removed by the prudent missionary of Apolló. By the advice of Tyrtæus, each soldier tied a token, inscribed with his name and designation, round his right arm, by means of which his body, however disfigured²⁷, might be known to his friends and kindred. Thus fortified against the only illusion that could alarm the minds of men who preferred death to a defeat, they rushed forward to attack their dreaded, and hitherto victorious, foes.

The Messénian general had drawn up his forces at a place called the Great Ditch, from which this engagement has been called the battle of the Trenches²⁸. The national strength was reinforced by a considerable body of Arcadian troops, commanded by their king Aristocrates, to whose treachery, as much as to their own valor, the Spartans were indebted for the victory.

The Spartans, though possessed of little private wealth, had a considerable public treasure, with which they early began to bribe those whom they

C H A P.
IV.

The battle
of the
Trenches.

Treachery
of Aristocrates,
leader of
the Arcadians.

²⁷ Confusa corporum lineamenta. JUSTIN.

²⁸ Polybius, l. iv. Strabo, l. viii.

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- CHAP. I. despaired to conquer. With this, perhaps, on
 IV. many former occasions, they had tempted the
 avarice of Aristocrates, who, from want of opportunity rather than of inclination to betray, had hitherto maintained his fidelity inviolate. But when he perceived the unusual ardor which animated the enemy; and reflected, that if, without his concurrence, victory should declare itself on *their* side, he might for ever be deprived of an occasion to earn the wages of his intended iniquity, he determined to abandon his ancient allies, and to ensure success to the Lacedæmonians. In sight of the two armies he explained and exaggerated to his troops the advantageous position of the Spartans; the difficulty of a retreat, in case they themselves were obliged to give ground; and the inauspicious omens which threatened destruction to Messenê. In order to avoid the ruin ready to overtake their allies, he commanded his men to be prepared to follow him on the first signal for the engagement. When the charge was sounded, and the Messenians were preparing to resist the first onset of the enemy, Aristocrates led off his Arcadians; and, to make his defection more apparent, crossed the whole Messenian army. The Messenians, confounded with a treachery so bold and manifest, almost forgot that they were contending against the Spartans. Many forsook their ranks, and ran after the Arcadians, sometimes conjuring them to return to their duty, and sometimes reproaching them with their perfidious ingratitude. Their entreaties and insults were alike vain; their

The Messenians defeated.

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army was surrounded almost on every side; the little band of Aristomenes alone, with pertinacious valor, resisting the efforts, and breaking through the embattled squadrons, of the enemy. Their example encouraged others of their countrymen to effect an escape by equal bravery; but, in attempting this dangerous measure, the greater part of the soldiers perished, as well as the generals Androcles, Phintas, and Phanas, persons descended from the ancient stock of Messenian nobility, and who, next to Aristomenes, formed the principal ornament and defence of their declining country.

Among the republics of ancient Greece, the fate of a nation often depended on the event of a battle. The contention was not between mercenary troops, who regarded war as a trade; which they carried on merely from interest; without emulation or resentment. The citizens of free communities fought for their liberties and fortunes, their wives and children, and for every object held dear or valuable among men. In such a struggle they exerted the utmost efforts of their animosity as well as of their strength; nor did the conflict cease, till the one party had reduced the other to extremity. It was not extraordinary, therefore, that after the bloody battle of the Trénchès, the Messenians should be unable to keep the field. Aristomenes, however, determined, while he preserved his life, to maintain his independence. With this view he collected the miserable remains of his unfortunate troops; assembled the scattered inhabitants of the open country; abandoned the cities and villages on

Magnanimity of Aristomenes:

C H A P. the plain to the mercy of the victors; and seized, with his little army, the strong fortress of Eira, situate among the mountains which rise along the southern shore of Messenia, defended on the north by the river Neda; and open only on the south towards the harbours of Pylus and Methone, which offered it a plentiful supply of corn, fish, and other necessary provisions.

IV.

he throws himself in-
to the for-
tress of
Eira;

A. C. 682
—671.

ravages the
Spartan
territories;

In this situation the gallant Messenian resisted, for eleven years, the efforts of the Spartans, who endeavoured, with unremitting industry, to become masters of the fortress. Nor was he satisfied with defending the place; on various occasions he made vigorous and successful sallies against the besiegers. With a body of three hundred Messenians, of tried valor and fidelity, he, at different times, over-ran the Spartan territories, and plundered such cities as were either weakly garrisoned or negligently defended. In order to put a stop to incursions equally dishonorable and destructive, the Spartans ordered their frontier to be laid waste, and thus rendered incapable of affording subsistence to the enemy. But they themselves were the first to feel the inconvenience of this measure. As the lands towards that frontier were the most fertile in the province, and the crops in other parts had failed through the inclemency of the season, the Spartans were threatened with all the calamities of famine; to which the proprietors of the wasted grounds, deprived of their harvests by a rigorous injunction of the state, were prepared to add the horrors of a sedition. Tyrtæus displayed, on this occasion,

occasion, the wonderful power of his art, by appeasing the angry tumult, and teaching the Spartans patiently to bear, in the service of their country, the loss of fortune, as well as of life.

While the enemy were disturbed by these commotions, Aristomenes set out from Eira, with his favorite band; and, marching all night, arrived by day-break at Amyclæ, a Lacedæmonian city, situate on the banks of the Eurótas, at the distance of a few miles from the capital. Having entered the place without resistance, he carried off a considerable booty in slaves and merchandise, and returned to his mountains, before the Spartans, though apprised of his incursion, could arrive to the assistance of their neighbours.

A continued series of such exploits, carried on with equal success, inspired into the Messenians a degree of confidence, which had almost proved fatal to their cause. Neglecting that celerity, and those precautions, to which they owed their past advantages, they began to continue so long in the field, that the Spartans found an opportunity to intercept their return. The little band of Aristomenes behaved with its usual gallantry, and long defended itself against far superior numbers, headed by the two kings of Sparta. The commander, after receiving many wounds, was taken prisoner; and, with fifty of his bravest companions, carried in chains to the Lacedæmonian capital. The resentment of that republic against those who had inflicted on her such dreadful calamities, was not to be gratified by an ordinary punishment. After

C H A P.

IV.

and plun-
ders Amy-
clæ.

Aristome-
nes taken
prisoner.

C H A P. much deliberation, the prisoners were thrown, alive, into the Cæda ; a profound cavern, which was commonly employed as a receptacle for the most atrocious criminals. All the companions of Aristomenes were killed by the fall; he alone was preserved by an accident, which, though natural enough in itself, has been disfigured by many fabulous circumstances²². The Spartans, who loved valor even in an enemy, permitted him, at his earnest desire, to be buried with his shield; a weapon of defence held in peculiar veneration by the Grecian soldiers. As he descended into the deep cavity, the edge or boss of his ample buckler, striking against the sides of the pit, broke the force of the fall, and saved his life. Two days he continued in this miserable dungeon, amidst the stench and horror of dead bodies, his face covered with his cloak, waiting the slow approaches of certain death. The third day (at day-break) he heard a noise, and looking up, perceived a fox devouring the mangled remains of his companions. He allowed the animal to approach him, and catching hold of it with one hand, while he defended himself against its bite with the other, he determined to follow wherever it should conduct him. The fox drew towards a chink in the rock, by which he had entered the cavity, and through which he intended to get out. Aristomenes then

IV.
Thrown
into the
Cæda.

His won-
derful pre-
servation
and escape.

²² An eagle, it is said, flew to his relief, which arose from his having a spread eagle on his shield. Pausanias says, he saw the shield, which was preserved in the subterraneous chapel of Trophonius at Lacedæa.

gave liberty to his guide, whom he followed with much difficulty, scrambling through the passage which had been opened for his deliverance. He immediately took the road of Eira, and was received with pleasing astonishment among his transported companions.

C H A P.
IV.

The news of his wonderful escape were soon conveyed to Sparta by some Messenian deserters, whose information on such a subject was not more credited, than if they had brought intelligence of one risen from the dead. But, in the space of a few days, the exploits of Aristomenes convinced the incredulity of the Spartans. He was informed by his scouts, that the Corinthians had sent a powerful reinforcement to the besiegers; that these troops were still on their march, observing no order or discipline in the day, and encamping during night without guards or centinels. A general less active and less enterprising, would not have neglected so favorable an occasion of annoying the enemy. But Aristomenes alone was capable of effecting this purpose by the means which were now employed. That no appearance of danger might alarm the negligence of the Corinthians, he set out unattended³⁰, waited their approach in concealment, attacked their camp in the dead of night, marked his route with blood, and returning loaded

He surprises the Corinthian camp.

³⁰ The exploits of Aristomenes often oblige us to remember the expression in Pausanias, p. 244 : *Αριστομένης δὲ ἔργα ὥσπερ ἀποδείξασθαι πλεον τι ἢ ἀνδρὶ ἑνὶ ἐπιτελεῖν*. "That he did more than seemed possible for any one man."

CHAP. with spoils to Eira, offered to Messenian Jove the
 IV. *Hecatomphonia*; a sacrifice of an hundred victims, which *he* alone was entitled to perform, who with his own hand had killed an hundred of his enemies. This was the third time the Messenian hero had celebrated the same tremendous rite.

The Lacedæmonians treacherously admitted into Eira.

Eleven years had the vigorous and persevering efforts of a single man prolonged the destiny of Eira. Aristomenes might have still withstood the impetuous ardor of the Spartans, but he could not withstand the unerring oracles of Apollo, which predicted the fall of the devoted city. The purpose of the gods, however, was accomplished, not by open force, but by the secret treachery of a Lacedæmonian adulterer. This Lacedæmonian was the slave of Emperamus, a Spartan, who in the field yielded the post of honor only to the kings. The perfidious slave had escaped to the enemy with his master's property, and had formed an intrigue with a Messenian woman, whom he visited as often as her husband was called in his turn to guard the citadel. Amidst the miserable joys of their infamous commerce the lovers were one night disturbed by the husband, who loudly claimed admittance, which however he did not obtain till his wife had concealed the adulterer. When the wife, with the most insidious flattery, inquiring by what excess of good fortune she was blessed with her husband's unexpected return, the simple Messenian related, that the inclemency of the weather had driven the soldiers from their posts, the wind and thunder and rain being so violent that

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it was scarcely possible for them to continue any longer uncovered on the high grounds; nor could their desertion be attended with any bad consequences either to themselves or to their country, as Aristomenes was prevented by a recent wound from walking the rounds as usual, and as it could not be expected that the Spartans should venture an attack against the citadel during the obscurity and horror of a tempest. The Lacedæmonian slave overheard this recital, and thus obtained a piece of intelligence; which he well knew might not only atone for his past crimes, but entitle him to gratitude from his ancient master. He cautiously escaped from his concealment, and fought with the utmost celerity the Spartan camp. Neither of the kings being then present, the command belonged to Emperamus, who readily pardoned the fortunate treachery of a servant that had afforded him the means of obtaining the highest object of his ambition. Notwithstanding the slipperiness of the steep ascent, the Spartans, by the direction of the slave, mounted the unguarded citadel, and obtained possession of all the principal posts, before the Messenians became sensible of their danger.

As soon as it was known that the enemy had entered into the city; Aristomenes, accompanied by the warlike prophet Theocles, together with their respective sons Gorgus and Manticles, endeavoured to animate the despair of their fellow-citizens, and to make them defend to the last extremity, the little spot of ground to which they could yet apply the endearing name of country.

CHAR.

IV.

Obstinate
defence of
that place.

C H A P. IV. Such however were the terrors and confusion of the night (the darkness, thunder, and tempest, being rendered still more dreadful by the presence of an armed enemy), that it was impossible to form the Messenians into such an order of battle as might enable them to act with concert or effect. When the morning appeared they saw the danger more distinctly than before, and the impossibility of any other assistance than what may be derived from despair. They determined, at every hazard, to attack and penetrate the Spartan battalions. Even the women armed themselves with tiles, with stones, with every weapon that presented itself to their fury. They lamented that the violence of the wind prevented them from mounting to the roofs of the houses, which they had purposed to throw down on the enemy; and declared that they would rather be buried under the ruins of their country, than dragged in captivity to Sparta. Such generous resolutions ought to have retarded the fate of Messenë; but it was impossible to fight against superior numbers, aided by the elements and by the manifest partiality of the gods; for the thunder happening on the right of the Spartans, afforded them an auspicious omen of future victory, and presented to the Messenians the sad prospect of impending calamities.

These circumstances, so favorable to the Spartans, were improved by the prudence of Hecatus the diviner, who advised that the soldiers who composed the last ranks, as they could not be brought up to the attack, should be remanded to

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the camp ; and after refreshing themselves with sleep and nourishment, recalled to the assistance of their countrymen. Thus, without depriving themselves of present strength, the Spartans provided for a future supply of fresh troops ; while the Messenians, engaged in continual action with the assailants, were obliged at the same time to combat cold, sleep, fatigue, and hunger. For three days and nights they withstood the combined force of these finally irresistible enemies ; and when at length they began to give way, the diviner Theocles threw himself into the midst of the Spartans, crying out, " that they were not always to be victorious, " nor the Messenians always to be their slaves. " Such was the will of the gods ! who commanded him to perish in the wreck of a country, which, " in a future age, was destined to rise from its " ruins."

It might have been expected that the patriotism of Aristomenes would have chosen the same honorable occasion of expiring with the freedom of his republic. But the general preferred life for the sake of defending the small remnant of a community, which, he flattered himself, would be immortal, not only from the prediction of Theocles, but from another circumstance equally important. When the downfall of Eira was foretold by the oracle of Apollo, the prudent chief had removed to a place of security some sacred pledges believed to contain the fate of Messené. These mysterious securities consisted of thin plates of lead, rolled up in the form of a volume, on which was

Aristome-
nes con-
ducs a
remnant of
the Messe-
nians
towards
Arcadia.

G H A P. engraved an account of the history and worship of
 IV. the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine. Having concealed in mount Ithome this invaluable monument, which had been delivered down in veneration from the remotest antiquity, Aristomenes determined never to despair of the fortune, or to forsake the interests of his country. Although he perceived, therefore, that it was now become necessary to relinquish Eira, he did not, on this account, abandon the safety of its remaining citizens. In order to preserve them, the only expedient that could be employed, with any hopes of success, was the founding a retreat, and the collecting into one body such of his soldiers as were not already too far engaged with the Spartans. Having accomplished this measure, he placed the women and children in the centre of the battalion, and committed the command of the rear to Gorgus and Mandicles. He himself conducted the van, and marching towards the enemy with his spear equally poised, and with well-regulated valor, showed, by his mien and countenance, that he was resolved to defend to the last extremity the little remnant of the Messenian state. The Spartans, as directed by Hecatus the diviner, opened their ranks, and allowed them to pass unhurt, judiciously avoiding to irritate their despair. The Messenians abandoned their city, and in mournful silence marched towards Arcadia.

Their kind
 reception
 in that
 country.

As the wars of the Grecian republics were more bloody and destructive than those of modern times, so were their alliances more generous and sincere.

When the Arcadians were informed of the taking of Eira, they travelled in great numbers towards the frontiers of their kingdom, carrying with them victuals, clothing, and all things necessary to the relief of the unfortunate fugitives; whom having met at mount Lycæa, they invited into their cities, offered to divide with them their lands, and to give them their daughters in marriage. ¹¹.

C H A P.

IV.

The generous sympathy of the Arcadians animated Aristomenes to an exploit, the boldness of which little corresponded with the depression incident to his present fortune. He had only five hundred soldiers whose activity and strength were still equal to their valor; and these he commanded, in the presence of his allies, to march straightway to Sparta. Three hundred Arcadians desired to share the glory of this spirited enterprise; and it was hoped, that as the greater part of the Lacedæmonians were employed in plundering Eira, this small but valiant body of men might make a deep impression on a city deprived of its usual defence. The arrangements for this purpose were taken with the Arcadian king Aristocrates, whose behaviour at the battle of the Treaches had occasioned the defeat of the Messenians, and whose artifice had since persuaded them, that his shameful behaviour on that day was the effect of panic terror, not of perfidious intention. A second time the treacherous Arcadian betrayed the cause of his country and its allies. Having retarded the execution of

Aristomenes pur-
poses to
surprise
Sparta.

Treachery
and pu-
nishment
of Aristo-
crates.

¹¹ Polyb. l. iv.

C H A P. IV. Aristomenes's project, on pretence that the appearance of the entrails was unfavorable, he dispatched a confidential slave to Sparta, who discovered the imminent danger threatening that republic to Anaxander the Lacedæmonian king. The slave was intercepted on his return, carrying a letter from that prince, in which he acknowledged the faithful services of his ancient benefactor. Upon the discovery of this letter, which totally discomfited the intended enterprise against Sparta, the Arcadians, frantic with disappointment and rage, stoned to death the perfidious traitor who disgraced the name of king. The Messenians joined not in the execution of this substantial act of justice. Watching the countenance of Aristomenes, whose authority was equally powerful in the council and in the field, they observed, that instead of being agitated by resentment, it was softened by grief. The hero was affected with the deepest melancholy, on reflecting that the only design was now rendered abortive, by which he could soon hope to avenge the wrongs of his country. Both nations testified the most signal detestation of the character of Aristocrates. The Arcadians extinguished his name, and extirpated his whole race. The Messenians erected a column near the temple of Lycæan Apollo (so named from mount Lycæa, on the confines of Arcadia), with an inscription, setting forth his crime and punishment; asserting the impossibility of concealing treacherous baseness from the investigation of Time, and the penetrating

Olymp.
xxviii. 2.
A. C. 671.

mind of Jove; and praying the god to defend and bless the land of Arcadia³².

Thus ended the second Messenian war, in the autumn of the year six hundred and seventy-one before Christ. The fugitive Messenians experienced various fortunes. The aged and infirm were treated by the Arcadians, among whom they continued to reside, with all the cordial attention of ancient hospitality. The young and enterprising took leave of their benefactors, and under the conduct of Aristomenes repaired to Cyllene, an harbour belonging to the Eleans. Agreeably to the information which they had received, they found in that place their countrymen of Pylus and Methone, with whom they consulted about the means of acquiring new establishments. It was determined, by the advice of their Elean friends, not to undertake any expedition for this purpose until the return of spring, when they should again convene in full assembly, finally to conclude this important deliberation. Having met at the time appointed, they agreed unanimously to commit their future fortunes to the wisdom and paternal care of Aristomenes, who declared his opinion for establishing a distant colony, but declined the honor of conducting it in person, and named for this office the brave Messenian youths Gorgus and Manticles. The former of these inheriting his father's hatred against Sparta, advised his countrymen

C H A P.

IV.

Future fortune of the Messenians,

Olymp.
xxvii. 3.
A. C. 670.

³² The inscription is preserved by Polybius, l. iv. and by Pausanias, Messen.

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CH. A. P. to take possession of the island of Zacynthus, which, from its situation in the Ionian Sea, lay conveniently for harassing the maritime parts of Laconia. Manticles proposed a different opinion, observing that the island of Sardinia, though less advantageously situated for the purposes of revenge, was far better adapted to supply the necessary comforts of life; and that the Messenians, if once settled in that large and beautiful island, would soon forget the calamities which Sparta had inflicted on them. It is uncertain whether motives of vengeance or utility would have prevailed with the Messenians; for before any resolution was taken on this important subject, a messenger arrived from Rhegium, then governed by Anaxilas, a prince descended from the royal house of Messenia, who invited his wandering countrymen to a safe and honorable retreat in his dominions. When, agreeably to this invitation, they arrived at Rhegium, Anaxilas informed them, that his subjects were continually harassed by the piratical depredations of the Zancleans, an Eolian colony³³, who possessed a delightful territory on the opposite coast. With the assistance of the Messenians it would be easy (he observed) to destroy that nest of pirates; a measure by which the city of Rhegium would be delivered from very troublesome neighbours, and the Messenians enabled to establish themselves in the most delicious situation of the whole Sicilian coast. The proposal was received

³³ Thucyd. l. vi.

with alacrity; the armament failed for Sicily; the Zancleans were besieged by sea and land. When they perceived that part of their wall was destroyed, and that they could derive no advantage from continuing in arms, they took refuge in the temples of their gods. Even from these respected asylums the resentment of Anaxilas was ready to tear them; but he was restrained by the humanity of the Messenians, who had learned from their own calamities to pity the unfortunate. The Zancleans thus delivered from the sword and from servitude, the ordinary consequences of unsuccessful war, swore eternal gratitude to their generous protectors. The Messenians returned this friendly sentiment with an increase of bounty; they allowed the Zancleans either to leave the place, or to remain in the honorable condition of citizens; the two nations gradually coalesced into one community; and Zanclé, in memory of the conquest, changed its name to Messene³⁴, a name which may still be recognized after the revolution of twenty-five centuries.

³⁴ Such is the account of Pausanias, or rather of the ancient authors whom he follows. But it must not be dissembled, that Herodotus, lib. vi. c. 23. Thucydides, p. 114. and Diodorus, lib. xi. place Anaxilas, king of Rhegium, much later than the second Messenian war. It deserves to be considered, that Pausanias, writing expressly on the subject, is entitled to more credit than authors who only speak of it incidentally. But when we reflect that these authors are Herodotus and Thucydides, there seems no way of solving the difficulty, but by supposing two princes of the name of Anaxilas, to the latter of whom his countrymen, by a species of flattery not uncommon in Greece, ascribed the transactions of the first.

C H A P.

IV.
and of
Aristome-
nes.His death
and cha-
racter.

It has been already observed, that Aristomenes declined the honor of conducting the colony. His subsequent fortune is differently related by ancient writers³⁵. Pausanias, to whom we are indebted for the fullest account of the Messenian hero, informs us, that he sailed to the isle of Rhodes with Demagetes, the king of the city and territory of Ialysus in that island, who being advised by the oracle of Apollo to marry the daughter of the most illustrious character in Greece, had without hesitation preferred the daughter of Aristomenes. From Rhodes he sailed to Ionia, and thence travelled to Sardis, with an intention of being presented to Ardys king of the Lydians, probably to propose some enterprise to the ambition of that prince, which might finally be productive of benefit to Messen^e. But upon his arrival at Sardis he was seized with a distemper which put an end to his life. Other generals have defended their country with better success, but none with greater glory; other characters are more fully delineated in ancient history, but none more deserving of immortal fame; since whatever is known of Aristomenes tends to prove, that according to the ideas of his age and country, he united, in singular perfection, the merits of the citizen and of the soldier, the powers of the understanding and the virtues of the heart.

³⁵ Confer. Pausan. Messen. et Plin. 1. xi. cap. 70. Val. Maxim. lib. 1. cap. 8.

CHAP. V.

State of the Peloponnesus after the Conquest of Messenia. — Of the Northern Republics of Greece. — Of the Grecian Colonies. — Revolutions in Government. — Military Transactions. — The first sacred War. — Destruction of the Crissean Republic. — Restoration of the Pythian Games. — Description of the Gymnastic and Equestrian Exercises. — History of Grecian Music.

THE conquest of Messenia rendered Sparta the most considerable power in Greece. The Peloponnesus, formerly comprehending seven, now contained only six independent states. The subjects of Sparta alone occupied two fifths of the whole peninsula. The remainder was unequally divided among the Corinthians, Achæans, Eleans, Arcadians, and Argives. In a narrow extent of territory, these small communities exhibited a wonderful variety of character and manners. The central district of Arcadia, consisting of one continued cluster of mountains, was inhabited by a hardy race of herdsmen, proud of their ancestry, and confident in their own courage and the strength of their country. Their Eolian extraction, their jealousy, and their pride, made them disdain connexion with the Dorians, by whose possessions they were on all sides surrounded. Careless of the arts of peace, they were engaged in unceasing hostilities

CHAP.
V.
State of
Greece
after the
conquest
of Messenia, and
first of the
Peloponnesus.
Olymp.
xxviii. 1.
A.C. 668.

C H A P. with their neighbours, by whom they were despised
V. as barbarians, and whom they contemned as up-
starts; since, amidst all the revolutions of Pello-
ponnesus, the Arcadians alone had ever maintained
their original establishments ¹.

Contrast
between
the Ar-
cadians
and Co-
rinthians.

The industrious and wealthy Corinthians pre-
sented a very different spectacle. Inhabiting the
mountainous isthmus, which, towering between
two seas, connects the Peloponnesus with the north
of Greece, the Corinthians long formed the prin-
cipal centre of inland communication and foreign
commerce ². Towards the southern extremity of
the isthmus, and at the foot of their impregnable
fortress Acro-Corinthus, they had built a fair and
spacious city, extending its branches, on either
side, to the Saronic and Corinthian gulphs, whose
opposite waves vainly assailed their narrow but lofty
territory ³. Their harbours and their commerce
gave them colonies and a naval power. They are
said to have improved the very inconvenient
ships, or rather long-boats, used in early times,
into the more capacious form of Trireme ⁴.

¹ Pausan. Arcad. Strabo, l. viii. p. 383.

² Pausan. Corinth. c. iv. ³ Strabo, l. viii. p. 379.

⁴ The Triremes, Quadriremes, Quingbèremes of the ancients, were so denominated from the number of the ranks, or tires, of oars on each side the vessel; which number constituted what we may call the rate of the ancient ships of war. It was long a desideratum in the science of antiquities to determine the manner of arranging these ranks of oars, as well as to ascertain the position of the rowers. The bulk of commentators and antiquaries placed the sedilia, or seats, in rows immediately above each other, upon the sides of the vessel, which they supposed perpendicular to the surface of the galleys.

gallies'. Their sea fight against their rebellious colony, Corcyra, is the first naval engagement recorded in history'. It was fought six hundred

⁵ Thucyd. i. i. c. xiii.

⁶ Ibid.

water. But the least knowledge of naval architecture destroys that supposition. The rowers, thus placed, must have obstructed each other; they must have occupied too large a space, and rowed with too unfavorable an angle on the ship's side; above all, the length and weight of the oars required for the upper tiers, must have rendered the working of them totally impracticable, especially as we know from ancient writers, that there was but one man to each oar. These inconveniences were pointed out by many; but the ingenuity of lieutenant-general Melallé explained how to remedy them. He conjectured that the waste part of the ancient gallies, as the distance of a few feet above the water's edge, rose obliquely, with an angle of 45° , or near it; that upon the inner sides of this waste part, the seats of the rowers, each about two feet in length, were fixed, horizontally, in rows, with no more space between each seat, and those on all sides of it, than should be found necessary for the free movements of men when rowing together. The quincunx, or chequer order, would afford this advantage in the highest degree possible; and, in consequence of the combination of two obliquities, the inconveniences above mentioned totally disappear. In 1773 the general caused the fifth part of the waist of a Quinquéremis to be erected in the back-yard of his house in Great Pulteney Street. This model contained, with sufficient ease, in a very small space, thirty rowers, in five tiers of six men in each, lengthways, making one-fifth part of the rowers on each side of a Quinquéremis, according to Polybius, who assigns three hundred for the whole complement, besides one hundred and twenty fighting men. This construction, the advantages of which appeared evident to those who examined it, serves to explain many difficult passages of the Greek and Roman writers concerning naval matters. The general's discovery is confirmed by ancient monuments. On several pieces of sculpture, particularly at Rome, he found the figures of war-gallies, or parts of them, with the oars represented as coming down from oar holes disposed chequerwise. In the Capo di Monte palace at Naples, the reverse of a large Medaglione of Gordianus has the figure of a Triremis, with three tiers, each of fourteen or fifteen oars, issuing chequerwise from an oblique side. The collection at Portici con-

C. H. A. P.
V.
Political
revolu-
tions in
Corinth.
A. C. 779.
—till 583.

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C H A P. and fifty years before Christ, at which time the
 V. Corinthians (as the ideas of wealth and luxury are relative) were already regarded by their neighbours as a wealthy and luxurious people. The influence of wealth to produce servitude prevailed over that of commerce, which is favorable to liberty. Their government, after the abolition of monarchy, was usurped by a numerous branch of the royal family, styled Bacchiadæ¹. This oligarchy was destroyed by Cypselus, a mild and gentle ruler², whose family governed Corinth till the year five hundred and eighty-five before Christ.

Contrast
 between
 the Ar-
 gives and
 Achæans.

The contrast between Arcadia and Corinth was not more striking than that between Argolis and Achaia. The citizens of Argos, having expelled their kings, were seized with an ambition to reduce and domineer over the inferior towns in the province. The insolence of the capital provoked the indignation of the country. Mycenæ, Træzene, Epidaurus, and other places of less note, were often conquered, but never thoroughly subdued. Interest taught them to unite; and union enabled them so set at defiance the power of

tains ancient paintings of several gallees, one or two of which, by presenting the stern part, show both the obliquity of the sides, and the rows of oars reaching to the water. — The substance of this note is already published in governor Pownall's Antiquities. The governor, however, speaks of a gallery for the rowers, which I did not observe in the general's model; nor do I apprehend that such a gallery could be necessary, as the purpose for which it is supposed to have been intended, is completely answered by the waste part of the vessel.

¹ Pausan Corinth.

² Aristot. Polit. l.^{iv} c. xii.

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Argos, by which they were branded as rebellious, and which they reproached as tyrannical¹⁰. The fortunate district of Achaia, having successfully resisted the oppression of Ogygus, an unworthy descendant of Agamemnon, established, at a very early period, a democratical form of policy¹¹. Twelve cities, each of which retained its municipal jurisdiction, united on a foot of perfect equality and freedom. This equitable confederacy prepared the way for the Achæan laws, so celebrated in later times, when the cause of Greece, shamefully abandoned by more powerful guardians, was defended by the feeble communities of Achaia¹².

We have already had occasion to explain the important institutions of Iphitus and Lycurgus. The very opposite systems adopted by these great legislators, respectively suited the weakness of Elis and the strength of Sparta, and occasioned a remarkable contrast between the peaceful tranquillity of the former republic¹³ and the warlike ambition of the latter, the lines of whose national character grew more bold and decisive after the Messenian conquest. The piteous remnant of the Messenians, who had defended their freedom with the most persevering bravery, was reduced to a cruel and ignominious servitude. Confounded with the miserable mass of Helots, those wretched

Between
the Lacedæ-
monians
and
Elisians.

¹⁰ Pausan. I. vi. c. xxi. Diodor. Sicul. I. xi. p. 275.

¹¹ Pausan. Achaic. Strabo, I. viii. p. 383, et seq.

¹² Polyb. I. iii.

¹³ Pausan. Elisæ, et Strabo, I. viii.

6 H A P. victims of Spartan cruelty, they were condemned
 V. to laborious drudgery, exposed to daily insult, and
 compelled; still more intolerable! to tend their
 own flocks, and cultivate their own fields, for the
 benefit of unrelenting tyrants¹¹. The haughty
 temper of the Spartans became continually more
 presumptuous. They totally disdained such arts
 and employments as they usually saw practised
 by the industry of slaves. War, and hunting as
 the image of war, were the only occupations which
 it suited their dignity to pursue; and this constant
 exercise in arms, directed by the military code of
 Lycurgus, rendered them superior in the field of
 battle, not only to the neighbouring states of Pe-
 loponnesus, but to the bravest and most renowned
 republics beyond the Corinthian isthmus.

State of the
 northern
 republics
 of Greece.

Of the
 Grecian
 colonies.

Political
 revolu-
 tions in
 Athens.

While the Grecian peninsula was agitated by
 the stubborn conflict between the Spartans and
 Messenians, the northern states had been disturbed
 by petty wars, and torn by domestic discord¹².
 The Greek settlements in Thrace, in Africa, and
 Magna Græcia, were yet too feeble to attract the
 regard of history. But, during the period now
 under review, the Asiatic colonies, as shall be
 explained in a subsequent chapter, far surpassed
 their European brethren in splendor and prosper-
 ity.

Having abolished the regal office, the Athe-
 nians, whose political revolutions were followed
 with remarkable uniformity by neighbouring states,

¹¹ Pausanias, Messeniac.

¹² Thucyd. 1. 2.

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submitted the chief administration of their affairs to a magistrate entitled Archon, or ruler. The authority of the Archon long continued hereditary: it became afterwards decennial: at length nine annual Archons were appointed by the powerful class of nobility, consisting not only of the descendants of such foreign princes as had taken refuge in Athens, but of those Athenian families which time and accident had raised to opulence and distinction. The great body of the people gained nothing by these revolutions. The equestrian order, so called from their fighting on horseback, which before the improvement of tactics rendered them superior in every rencounter with the disorderly rabble, enjoyed all authority, religious, civil, and military¹⁵. The Athenian populace were reduced to a condition of miserable servitude; nor did they recover their ancient and hereditary freedom until the admired institutions of Theseus were restored and improved by Solon, towards the beginning of the sixth century before Christ.

The domestic dissensions which prevailed in every state beyond the isthmus, were only interrupted by foreign hostilities. Interference of interest occasioned innumerable contests between the Phocians and Thebans, the Dorians and Thessalians, the Locrians and Ætolians. Their various inroads, battles, and sieges, which were begun with passion, carried on without prudence, and

C H A P.

V.

A. C. 754.

A. C. 684.

A. C. 594.

Unimportance of the military transactions preceding the first Sacred War. Olymp. xlv. A. C. 600.

¹⁵ Aristot. Politic. l. iv. c. xiii.

C. H. A. P. concluded without producing any permanent effect, have been consigned by ancient historians to a just oblivion. But the first Sacred War is recommended to our attention, both on account of the cause from which it arose, and the consequences with which it was attended. This memorable enterprise was occasioned by an injury committed against the oracle of Delphi; it was undertaken by order of the Amphictyons; it ended in the total destruction of the cities accused of sacrilegious outrage; and its successful conclusion was celebrated by the Pythian games and festival, which, of all Grecian institutions, had the most direct as well as most powerful tendency to refine rudeness and soften barbarity.

Descrip-
tion of the
republic of
Crissa.

The territory of the Crisseans, lying to the south of Delphi, comprehended, in an extent of about twenty-four miles in length and fifteen in breadth, three large and flourishing cities; Crissa, the capital, which gave name to the province; Cirrha, advantageously situated for commerce on the western side of a creek of the Corinthian Gulph; and Anticirrha, on the eastern side of the same creek, celebrated for the production of hellebore, as well as for the skill with which the natives prepared that medicinal plant, the virtues of which were so much extolled and exaggerated by credulous antiquity¹⁶.

Its prosper-
ity and
infolence.

The Crisseans possessed all the means of happiness, but knew not how to enjoy them. Their

¹⁶ Strabo and Pliny.

territory, though small, was fertile; and as its value was enhanced by the comparative sterility of the greatest part of Phocis¹⁷, it acquired and deserved the epithet of *Happy*. Their harbour was frequented by the vessels, not only of Greece, but of Italy and Sicily; they carried on an extensive foreign commerce, considering the limited communication between distant countries in that early age; and the neighbourhood of Delphi, at which it was impossible to arrive without passing through their dominions, brought them considerable accessions of wealth¹⁸, as well as of dignity and respect. But these advantages, instead of satisfying, increased the natural avidity of the Criseans. They began to exact vexatious and exorbitant duties from the merchants who came to expose their wares in the sacred city, which, on account of the great concourse of profligate pilgrims from every quarter, soon became the seat, not of devotion only, but of dissipation, vanity, and licentious pleasure. It was in vain for the merchants to exclaim against these unexampled impositions; the taxes were continually increased; the evil admitted not the expectation of either remedy or relief; and the strangers, accustomed to it by long habit, began to submit without murmur; and perhaps endured the hardship with the greater patience, when they perceived that they drew back the tax in the increased price of their commodities. Encouraged by this acquiescence in their tyranny, the Criseans levied a

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V.

Exacts
contribu-
tions from
the mer-
chants and
strangers
who re-
sorted to
the oracle
of Delphi.

¹⁷ Strabo, p. 323, et seq.

¹⁸ Pausan. in Phocic,

CHAP. V. severe impost on the pilgrims, whether Greeks or Barbarians, who visited the temple of Apollo; a measure directly inconsistent with a decree of the Amphictyons, which declared that all men should have free access to the oracle²⁹, as well as extremely hurtful to the interest of the Delphians, who soon felt a gradual diminution of their profits arising from the holy shrine. It was natural for those who sustained a loss, either of gain or of authority, to remonstrate against the extortions of the Crisseans; but their remonstrances, instead of producing any happy alteration of behaviour, only exasperated men grown insolent through prosperity. In the time of profound peace, the Crisseans, provoked by useful admonitions, which they proudly called threats, entered with an armed force the territories of their neighbours; destroyed every thing that opposed them, with fire and sword; laid the defenceless cities under heavy contributions, and carried many of the inhabitants into servitude³⁰. Delphi itself, however much it was revered in Greece, and respected even by the most distant nations, appeared to the sacrilegious invaders an object better fitted to gratify the desire of plunder, than to excite the emotions of piety. Neighbourhood had rendered them familiar with the woods, the temples, and the grottoes of the presiding divinity; with the manners and character of many of his ministers they were probably too well acquainted to hold them in much reverence;

²⁹ Strabo, l. ix. p. 418.

³⁰ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

and having deserved their resentment by what they had already done, they resolved to render it impotent by what they should next accomplish.

The design of plundering Delphi was no sooner formed than executed. The imaginations of men were not prepared for such an event; nor had any measures been taken to prevent such an unexpected and abominable profanation. The enemy meeting with no resistance, became masters of the temple, and seized the rich votive offerings accumulated by the pious generosity of ages. Thence they passed into the sacred wood, and rendered furious through pride or guilt, attacked, plundered, and murdered the promiscuous crowd, who were employed in the usual exercise of their devotions. The young were violated with a licentious rage which bid defiance to decency and nature. Even a deputation of the Amphietyons, clothed in the venerable garb and bearing the respected ensigns of their office, were repelled with blows and insults, while they vainly attempted to stop the fatal progress of these frantic and impious outrages, committed against every thing held sacred among men ²¹.

The Amphietyonic council, to whom it belonged to judge and to punish the atrocious enormities of the Criseans, experienced, in an uncommon degree, those inconveniences to which all numerous assemblies are in some measure liable. Their proceedings were retarded by formality, warped by

C H A P. V.
The Criseans plunder the shrine of Delphi.

Measures of the Amphietyonic council.

²¹ Pausan. in Phocia.

CHAP. V. prejudice, and disturbed by dissension. Notwithstanding the aggravated crimes of the Crisseans, it was not without encountering many difficulties and much opposition; that Solon, one of the Athenian representatives, roused his associates to the resolution of avenging the offended majesty of religion, the violated laws of nature, and their own personal injuries. When at length they agreed to this useful and pious design, the measures pursued on the present occasion, as well as in all the future wars undertaken by their authority, were equally slow and indecisive. The forces which they at first brought into the field were by no means equal to the enterprise for which they were designed. After various reinforcements, they attempted ineffectually, during nine summers and winters, to reduce the towns of Crissa and Cirrha, which finally submitted, in the tenth year of the war, rather to the art than to the power of the besiegers.

The principal events in the Sacred War.

The events of the preceding years strongly paint the ignorance, the superstition, and the rude manners of the times. The Crisseans had no sooner plundered, than they abandoned the temple of Apollo. Thither, by the advice of Solon, the Amphictyons sent messengers, to consult the oracle concerning the proper means as well as the just measure of their vengeance. They were commanded instantly to levy war on the Crisseans; to persecute them to the last extremity; to demolish their towns, to desolate their country, and after consecrating it to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and

Minerva, to prevent it from ever thenceforth being cultivated for the service of man²². In obedience to this peremptory injunction of the god, the Amphictyons returned to their several republics, in order to collect troops, and to animate the exertions of their countrymen in the common cause. The Greeks however were too deeply engaged in domestic dissensions, to make effectual efforts for the glory of Apollo. Few adventurers repaired to the holy standard; and the war, neither supported by vigor of execution nor directed by wisdom of deliberation, languished for several years under different generals. At length Eurylochus, a Thessalian prince of great valor and activity, was intrusted with the command of the Amphictyonic army²³. The new general waited till the time of harvest, to ravage the open country, to destroy the villages by fire and sword, and to desolate the *happy* Crissean plain.

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On several occasions he defeated the army of the Crisseans, who made frequent and vigorous sallies in order to defend their possessions. But when he attempted to make an impression on the fortified strength of Crissa, its thick walls, its lofty towers, and above all, the activity and courage of its citizens, presented obstacles which it was impossible to surmount. The art of besieging towns still continued in a state of great imperfection. The battering-rams, and other engines employed in this operation of war, were of too rude a construction

Siege of
Crissa,

²² Æschin. *Ibid.*

²³ Plut. in Solon. Strabo, l. ix. Polyænus, l. vi. c. xv.

C H A P. to make such a breach in the walls as might not
 v. easily be repaired. It was in vain that Eurylochus
 attempted by blockade to reduce the place. The
 enemy were furnished with all necessaries in great
 abundance, from the well-frequented port of
 Cirrha. Years thus passed away, and nothing
 decisive was effected. The besiegers, fatigued
 with labor, and uneasy at disappointment, had
 often abandoned their camp, and cantoned them-
 selves on the borders of the Crissean territory,
 where they expected more salutary supplies of
 provisions.

Pestilence
 in the
 army of the
 besiegers,

When they again returned to their duty, they
 were afflicted, in the ninth year of the war, with a
 pestilential or epidemic disorder, occasioned either
 by the want of wholesome food, the great numbers
 of men cooped up during the warm season with-
 in a narrow space, or by some unknown malignity
 of the atmosphere. A great part of the army fell
 a prey to the increasing contagion. Anxious for
 the public safety the Amphictyons had recourse
 to the wisdom of Apollo, who, instead of recom-
 mending to them the aid of an able physician, ex-
 horted them to bring from the isle of Cos the *fawn*
with gold. Ambassadors were immediately dis-
 patched to that island, in order to unravel the
 meaning of the god, thus wrapped up in its
 customary veil of mystic obscurity. They had no
 sooner explained their commission in the Coan
 assembly, than an eminent citizen, named Nebros,
 rising up, declared the sense of the oracle. "I
 "am the fawn," said he, "pointed out by Apollo,"

remedied
 by Nebros
 of Cos.

(for Nebros in Greek signifies a fawn), "and my son Chryfos" (which is the Greek word for gold) "has carried off the prize of strength, courage, and beauty, from all his competitors." The person who thus spoke is justly celebrated, on account of his ancestor Esculapius, of his descendant Hippocrates²⁴, and of his own unrivalled proficiency in the healing art. The knowledge of physic was become the hereditary honor, and almost the appropriated possession, of his family, by which it had been cultivated for many ages, and to which it is supposed in a great measure to owe its present improvement and perfection. Nebros obeyed with alacrity the injunction of Apollo, the peculiar patron of the science in which he excelled. At his own expense he equipped a vessel of fifty oars, loaded with valuable medicines as well as with warlike stores, and accompanied by his son Chryfos, set sail with the Amphictyonic ambassadors, in order to cure the confederates, and to conquer the Crisseans.

His advice, his prudence, and his assiduity, restored the decaying health of the army. Their numbers, however, were already so much diminished, that it seemed impossible by open force to put a successful end to the war. On this occasion the artful Coan employed a stratagem, which would

Sack of
Crisse.

²⁴ We owe, almost entirely, the history recorded in the text, to an oration of Theſſalus, son of Hippocrates, addressed to the Athenians. It is published among the letters of his father. Vid. Hippocrat. Opera, ex edit. Fœſil, v. ii. p. 1297. There are some learned dissertations on the subject in the 5th and 7th volumes of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

& H A P. have appeared entirely inconsistent with the laws of
 V. arms which had long been established in Greece, if
 it had not seemed to be the dictate of a divine admo-
 nition. The horse of Eurylochus was observed for
 several days to roll on the sand, and to strike his
 foot with great violence against a particular spot of
 ground. In digging under this ground, a wooden
 pipe was discovered, which supplied Crissa with
 water. The extraordinary means by which this
 discovery was made, convinced the ignorant cre-
 dulity of the Greeks, that some important advan-
 tage might be derived from it; and upon mature
 deliberation it was concluded; that Apollo had
 thus suggested a contrivance for destroying his own
 and their enemies. Complying therefore with the
 heavenly intimation, Nebros poisoned the conduit
 of water; and the effect of this detestable artifice
 was soon discernible in the languid efforts and di-
 minished resistance of the besieged. The be-
 siegers, on the other hand, encouraged by the
 evident partiality of the gods, carried on their
 operations with redoubled vigor. A reward was
 proposed for the man who should first mount the
 walls, an honor obtained by the youthful ardor
 of Chrysos. The city was thus taken by assault;
 the fortifications were demolished, the houses
 burnt, and the inhabitants treated with a severity
 proportioned to the atrocious enormity of their
 own crimes, and the exasperated resentment of the
 victors.

Consecra-
 tion of the
 Cirrhean
 plain

The command of Apollo, however, was not
 completely executed by the destruction of the

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Criffean capital. Part of that impious community still subsisted in the maritime town of Cirrha, the reduction of which must have presented great difficulties to the Amphictyons, since it was necessary for them a third time to have recourse to the oracle. The answer delivered on this occasion was involved in twofold obscurity. The words of the god, at all times dark and doubtful, now seemed absolutely unintelligible, since he made the taking of Cirrha, an event which there was every reason to expect, depend on a circumstance that appeared at first sight impossible. "You shall not overturn," said he, "the lofty towers of Cirrha, until the foaming billows of blue-eyed Amphitrité beat against the resounding shores of the Holy Land." How could the sea be conveyed for several leagues over rocks and mountains, so that its waves might dash against the craggy precipices which surround the sacred groves of Delphi? This was an enigma which the oldest and most experienced members of the Amphictyonic council acknowledged themselves unable to explain. The condition on which success was promised them seemed incapable of being fulfilled; the inhabitants of Cirrha flattered themselves with hopes of unalterable security; and the wisest of the Amphictyons gave their opinion, that there was good reason to abandon an enterprise which seemed disagreeable to Apollo, by whose advice the war had been originally undertaken.

While these sentiments universally prevailed in both armies, Solon, the Athenian, alone ventured

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advised by
Solon.

C H A P. to propose an advice more advantageous for the
 V. confederates, as well as more honorable for the
 holy shrine. His superior wisdom taught him the
 impiety of supposing that the god should require an
 impossibility, as the condition of happily termi-
 nating a war, the first measures of which he had
 himself suggested and approved. It exceeded, in-
 deed, human power to extend the sea to the
 boundary of the Holy Land; but by removing
 this boundary, it was possible to make the Holy
 Land communicate with the sea. This might
 easily be accomplished, since it sufficed for that
 purpose to consecrate the intermediate space with
 the same ceremonies which had been formerly
 employed in dedicating the Delphian territory²⁵.

and put in
 execution.

The opinion of Solon, proposed with much
 solemn gravity, was honored with the unanimous
 approbation of his associates. Every one now
 wondered that he himself should not have thought
 of an expedient which seemed so natural and so
 obvious. The preparations were immediately made
 for carrying it into execution; and the property of
 the Cirrhean plain was surrendered to the god
 with the most pompous formality; the Amphic-
 tyons, either not considering that they bestowed
 on Apollo, what, as it was not their own, they
 had not a right to give away; or, if this idea oc-
 curred, easily persuaded themselves that the piety
 of the application would atone for the defect of
 the title.

²⁵ Plutarch. in Solon. Pausan. in Phoc.

when

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When the senators had performed the consecration, the soldiers assailed the walls of Cirrha with the increasing activity of re-animated hope. That place, as well as the dependent town of Anticirrha, situate on the opposite side of the creek, soon submitted to their arms. The impious and devoted citizens were either put to the sword, or dragged into captivity. The Crissean community, formerly so rich and flourishing, was for ever extirpated²⁶. Their lands were laid waste, their cities demolished, the proud monuments of their victories levelled with the ground; and the port of Cirrha, which was allowed to remain as a convenient harbour for Delphi, subsisted as the only vestige of their ancient grandeur. The territory, as it had been condemned by the divine will to perpetual sterility, long continued uncultivated; for the Delphians were not obliged to labor the ground in order to acquire the necessaries, the accommodations, and even the highest luxuries of life. The superstition of the age furnished an abundant resource to supply their wants; the granaries of Apollo filled spontaneously; and, to use the figurative style of an ancient author, the land, unploughed and unsown by the industry of man, flourished in the richest luxuriance under the culture of the god²⁷.

The successful event of a war begun, carried on, and concluded under the respectable sanction

C H A P.

V.

Cirrha taken, and consequences of the war.

The happy issue of the sacred war celebrated by the Pythian games,

²⁶ *Εξολία. in Ctesiphont.*

²⁷ *Εὐαίρε το πᾶν τοῦ γένους τοῦ ἱεροῦ.* LUCIAN. Phalar. H.

C. H. A. P. V. of the Amphictyonic council, was celebrated with all the pomp and festivity congenial to the Grecian character. According to an ancient and sacred institution, the several republics were accustomed, by public shows, to commemorate their respective victories. When different communities had employed their joint efforts in the same glorious enterprise, the grateful triumph was exhibited with a proportional increase of magnificence; but the fortunate exploits of gods and heroes, which had extensively benefited the whole Grecian name, were distinguished by such peculiar and transcendent honors as eclipsed the splendor of all other solemnities. While each republic paid the tribute of provincial festivals to the memory of its particular benefactors, the whole nation were concerned in acknowledging the bountiful goodness of Jupiter, the protecting aid of Neptune, the unerring wisdom of Apollo, and the unrivalled labors of Hercules. Hence the Olympian, Isthmian, Pythian, and Nemean games, which, though alike founded on the same principle of pious gratitude, were, from their first establishment, distinguished by different ceremonies, and respectively consecrated to separate divinities.

The Amphictyons were principally indebted to the prudent admonitions of Apollo for the fortunate issue of a war undertaken by his authority; it therefore became them, while they rejoiced in the happy success of their arms, to offer respectful thanks to the god. These objects might easily be conjoined in the pleasing texture of ancient superstition,

since the celebration of the Pythian games, which had been interrupted by a long train of wars and calamities, would form an entertainment not less agreeable to the supposed dictates of piety ; than adapted to the natural demands of pleasure.

The festival re-established on this memorable occasion in honor of Apollo, is mentioned by ancient historians, on account of two remarkable circumstances by which it was distinguished. Instead of the scanty rewards usually distributed among the gymnastic combatants at other public solemnities, the Amphictyons bestowed on the victors the most precious spoils of the cities Crissa and Cirrha. The exhibitions of poetry and music had hitherto been united in all the Grecian festivals, and the laurel crown had been adjudged to the poet-musician, who enlivened the composition of his genius by the sound of his lyre. The Amphictyons for the first time separated the kindred arts; proposed prizes of instrumental music unaccompanied with poetry, and thus afforded an opportunity to the candidates for fame to display their superior merit in their respective professions.

These are the only particulars concerning the re-establishment of the Pythian games which seemed worthy the observation of Grecian authors, whose works were addressed to men who knew by experience and observation the nature and tendency of their domestic institutions. But a more copious explanation is required; to satisfy the curiosity of the modern reader. The sacred games of Greece cannot be illustrated by a comparison with any

This festival distinguished from the preceding by two circumstances.

History of the sacred games.

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C H A P. thing similar in the present age; they were intimately connected with the whole system of ancient polity, whether civil or religious; they were attended with very extraordinary effects, both of a natural and moral kind; and on all these accounts they merit particular attention in a work which professes to unite the history of arts to that of arms, and to contemplate the varying picture of human manners, as well as the transient revolutions of war and empire.

V.
The Stadium, and gymnastic exercise.

In their most perfect form, the sacred games consisted in the exhibitions of the Stadium and Hippodrome, accompanied by the more refined entertainments of music and poetry. The Olympic Stadium took its name from the measure of length most commonly employed by the Greeks, consisting of the eighth part of a Grecian mile, or six hundred and thirty English feet. The Stadium, still remaining at Athens, has been accurately measured by our travellers, and is an hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces in length, and twenty-seven in breadth: it forms a long and lofty terrace on the banks of the Illysus, and its sides were anciently built of white marble. That of Olympia was probably of the same dimensions, but far less magnificent, being entirely composed of earth. The one extremity contained an elevated throne, appropriated for the judges of the games, and a marble altar, on which the priestesses of Ceres, and other privileged virgins, sat to behold a solemnity from which the rest of their sex were rigorously excluded. At the other extremity

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was the tomb of Endymion, the favorite of chaste Diana. The Stadium was divided by pillars into two courses. The five gymnastic exercises, so much celebrated by all the writers of antiquity, and so accurately described by Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, and Pausanias, began with the foot race, which is supposed to have been the most ancient, and which always retained the prerogative of distinguishing the Olympiads by the name of the victorious racer. The exercise at first consisted in running naked from the one end of the Stadium to the other. The course was afterwards doubled, and at length the competitors were required to pass the goal three, six, and even twelve times, before they could be entitled to the prize. Motives of utility introduced the race of men loaded with heavy armor, which rendered this exercise a contest of strength as well as of swiftness. 2. The second trial of agility consisted in leaping, the competitors endeavouring to surpass each other in the length, without regard to the height of their leap. They carried in their hands weights of lead, through the perforations of which their fingers passed as through the handle of a shield, and by these they poized, and impelled forwards, their bodies. The perfection attained in this exercise must have far exceeded the experience of modern times, if we can believe that Phaulus of Crotona²² leaped fifty-two feet. 3. The wrestling of the ancients required equal strength

O H A. P
V.

²² Pausanias, p. 624.

C H A P. and agility. It was chiefly remarkable on account
v. of the oil and sand with which they rubbed their bodies, in order to supple their joints, to prevent excessive perspiration, and to elude the grasp of their antagonists. The wrestlers were matched by lot, and the prize was adjudged to him who had thrice thrown his adversary on the ground. 4. The two following exercises tried chiefly the strength of the arms. The first consisted in throwing a huge mass of polished iron, brass, or stone, of a circular form, resembling a shield, but without handle or thong. It was called the disk, and thrown under the hand as the quoit is in England. The object of the competitors was to surpass each other in the length of the cast. A-kin to this was the art of darting the javelin, which, as that weapon was directed at a mark, required steadiness of eye as well as dexterity of hand. 5. The last of the gymnastic exercises both in order and in esteem, was that of boxing. It was sometimes performed by the naked fist, and sometimes with the formidable *cœstus*, composed of raw hides lined with metal. Before the victory could be decided, it was necessary, from the nature of that exercise, that one of the combatants should acknowledge his defeat; a condition which seemed so inconsistent with the obstinacy of Grecian valor, that few ventured to contend in this dangerous amusement. The laws of Sparta absolutely prohibited her citizens from ever engaging in it, because a Spartan was taught to disdain saving his life by yielding to an opponent. Another reason, no less remarkable, tended

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still more to degrade the exercise of boxing. Be. C H A P. V.
 sides strength and agility, the success of the boxer depended on a certain ponderous fleshiness of arm, which unfitted him to engage in any other contest. The regimen required for keeping up his corpulence, so necessary for the defence of his bones against the weight of blows, was altogether incompatible with the life of a foldier; a life of hardship and inequality, and continually exposed to the want of rest, of provisions, and of sleep.

These were the five gymnastic exercises in which the Grecian youth were trained with so much care, and to which they applied with so much emulation. But besides these simple sports, there were two others formed of their various combination; the Panecratiun, which consisted of wrestling and boxing; and the Pentatlon, in which all the five were united; and to excel in such complicated exercises required an education and way of living not necessary to be observed by those who contended in the simple feats of strength and agility, and which was scarcely compatible with the study of any other than the athletic profession.

The Hippodrome, or ground allotted for the horse races, was twice as long as the Stadium²⁹, and sufficiently spacious to allow forty chariots to drive a-breast³⁰. The chariot race was instituted at Olympia about an hundred years after the regular celebration of the games; and that of riding

The Hippodrome and Equestrian exercises.

²⁹ Hesychius.

³⁰ Pausan. l. vi. p. 382, et 390.

C H A P. V. horses twenty years later. These warlike sports followed the same progress with the military art, of which they were the image, and in which the use of chariots long preceded that of cavalry. The cars of the Greeks, as evidently appears from their medals, were low, open behind, furnished with only two wheels, and unprovided with any seat for the driver, who stood with much difficulty in the body of his vehicle, while he commanded four horses, which were not paired but formed on one line. Notwithstanding this inconvenient posture they performed six and sometimes twelve rounds of the Hippodrome, amounting to six Grecian miles of eight hundred paces each, of which an English mile contains one thousand five hundred and fifty. The Grecian heroes excelled, during the heroic ages, in this dangerous exercise; but in later times the owners of the horses were allowed to employ a charioteer, which enlarged the sphere of candidates for the Olympic prize, by admitting many foreign princes, as well as the wealthy ladies of Macedonia and Laconia, who could not appear in person at this important solemnity. Though riding horses were not so early employed as chariots, either at the games, or in war, yet we cannot believe, with a fanciful writer³¹, that this circumstance should have been occasioned by the timidity of the Greeks to mount on horseback; for we learn from Homer, that, even in the most ancient times, they were acquainted with all the feats of dexterity

³¹ The Chevalier Folard.

performed by our most accomplished jockies ²². C H A P. V.
 But before the Persian war, the poverty of the Greeks prevented them from importing foreign horses, and their domestic breed was naturally of an inferior kind to those of Asia and Africa. The Spartans first employed them in battle during their wars with the Messenians. In the Persian expedition, Xerxes tried the mettle of the Persian, against the Thessalian horses, and the former carried off the palm in every contest. For a considerable time after the shameful retreat of that haughty monarch, the Athenians, who then formed the most powerful community of Greece, had a squadron of only three hundred horsemen: and it was not till that ambitious republic had begun to extend her dominion over the inferior states, that she seriously applied to the improvement of her cavalry.

While the Greeks thus acquired the accomplishments of the body, and displayed at Olympia their skill in horsemanship; and their vigor in the gymnastic exercises, the more refined entertainments of the fancy were not neglected; and the agreeable productions of music and poetry added lustre and elegance to every Grecian solemnity. It is well observed by the only ancient writer to whom we are indebted for an historical account of Grecian music, that the arts of peace, as they are more agreeable and more useful than those of war, demand, in a superior degree, the

The musical entertainments.

²² *Iliad*. xv. ver. 679.

CHAPTER V. regard of the historian: If this had been the general opinion of authors, the study of their works would be equally entertaining and instructive. The writer of history would explain the various discoveries which happily tend to improve and to embellish social life; by introducing scenes of gaiety and pleasure; he would diversify the eternal theme of human misery; and while he expatiated on the crimes and calamities of men, he would not neglect to point out the means best adapted to prevent the perpetration of the one, and to soothe the suffering of the other. But the Greek historians have not attempted to afford us this important information; they enlarge copiously on such topics as are adapted to the use of their countrymen; and they preserve the most mortifying silence concerning those subjects which deservedly excite the curiosity of later ages. Of all the arts cultivated by the ingenuity of their contemporaries, music was the most connected with religion, government, and manners; and the effects ascribed to Grecian music are numbered among the most singular as well as the most authentic of all recorded events³³; yet as to the nature, the origin, the progress, the perfection, in one word, the history of this art, we can know little more than what we learn from

³³ The continual complaints of Plato and Aristotle prove that the music of their age had greatly degenerated from its ancient dignity. It afterwards continued, like all the other arts, gradually to decline; yet, in the second century before Christ, the grave, judicious, and well-informed Polybius ascribes the most extraordinary effects to the grecian music. Polybius, l. iv. c. xx. et seq.

the musical treatise of Plutarch, to which we have above alluded, which is extremely short and imperfect, obscure throughout, and in many parts unintelligible ^{C H A P. V.} ^{v.}

Without much historical information, however, we may venture to explain the introduction of musical entertainments at the four public solemnities. These grand spectacles were destined to exhibit an embellished representation of the ordinary transactions of real life, and while the gymnastic and equestrian exercises represented the image of war, the most serious occupation of the Greeks, music recalled the memory of religion and love, their most agreeable amusements. Besides this, as music in those early times was closely connected with poetry ^{Why introduced at the public games.}, and as the use of prose composition was not known in Greece till the time of Phercydes of Syros, and Cadmus of Miletus, who flourished only five hundred and forty-four years before Christ ^{Extent of Grecian music.}, the name of music naturally comprehended all the learning of the age; and to obtain the prize in the musical contests, was equivalent to the glory of being declared superior to the rest of mankind in mental abilities and endowments.

³⁴ Mr. Burette, a French physician, has translated this treatise in the tenth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy, etc. He finds fewer difficulties in it, than present themselves to men far better acquainted with the theory and practice of this elegant art. See Burney on Music, vol. i. p. 36.

³⁵ The same words signified a song and a poem, a musician and a poet; *ωδὴ, ἀσματικὴ; ωδὴ, ωδικοί ποιδοί.* Hesych.

³⁶ Strabo, l. i.

C. H. A. P. These abilities and endowments were anciently regarded in proportion to their utility. Before the practice of writing was introduced, the history of past events could be preserved only by tradition; and tradition was rendered more sure and permanent, by being committed to the safe protection of harmonious numbers ¹⁷. The customary offices of religion were celebrated in poetical composition, and the various hymns appropriated to the worship of particular divinities, were retained by the faithful memory of their respective votaries. The tuneful tribe, who were thus employed to extol the bounty of the gods, to exalt the glory of heroes, and to record and perpetuate the accumulated wisdom of antiquity, condescended also to regulate the duties, and to improve the pleasures, of private life. The same bards who taught the men to be brave, exhorted the women to be chaste ¹⁸. Poetry, together with the sister arts of music and dancing, are elegantly called by Homer the chief ornaments of the feast. The poet-musician quelled seditions in states ¹⁹, and maintained the domestic quiet of families; while he published laws of the most extensive influence over the whole community, he disdained not to animate the humble but necessary labors of the mechanic; every profession in society, even the meanest and

V.
Purposes
to which it
was ap-
plied.

¹⁷ Ὡς δὲ εἶπεν ὁ περὶ λόγος κτασκειναι μνηματὶ ποιητικῇ
ἔστι· πρῶτιστα γὰρ ἡ ποιητικὴ κατασκευὴ παρηλθὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον.

Strabo, l. i.

¹⁸ Of this we have an example in Homer's Demodocus.

¹⁹ See what is said above of Tyrtæus, p. 188.

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most vulgar, was encouraged and adorned by its particular song⁴⁰; and the most ordinary transactions of common life, however trivial and low and uninteresting in themselves, were heightened and ennobled by the combined charms of music and poetry.

The degree of perfection in which these arts are found in any country, depends on the language and character of the people by whom they are cultivated. Of this there is abundant proof in the history of ancient, as well as in that of modern nations. The melancholy, stern⁴¹, atrocious and unrelenting temper of the Egyptians (the supposed instructors of Greece) disqualified that nation either for improving or for relishing the beauties of harmony. The harsh dissonance of the eastern languages, their deficiency in vowels, and the inflexible thickness of their sounds, rendered them but little susceptible of musical composition. The

⁴⁰ See Athenæus *passim*, and the discourses on the Greek songs, in the 3d volume of the excellent selection of the Memoirs of the Academy.

⁴¹ The nature of the government furnishes another reason for the imperfection of Egyptian music. Homer characterizes Egypt by the epithet *πικρος*, bitter, to denote the rigid severity of the laws. Among that grave and formal people, the hours of amusement, as well as of business, were proscribed by law. There was a particular time of the day, not only for attending the courts of justice; but for walking, bathing, and even for performing the duties of matrimony. Diodor. Siculus. Poetry, music, sculpture, and all other arts, were regulated by express statute; and if we may believe Plato, continued invariable for many thousand years. Plato de Legibus. The austerities and restraints of despotism are inconsistent with that flowing freedom of genius necessary to the perfection of poetry.

C. H. A. P. V. music of the Egyptians and Orientals therefore depended rather on the quantity than the quality of sound; and the principal object of their art was rather to rouse the attention by noise, than to charm the soul by melody.

Its origin. The language and manners of the Greeks were of a different and a far superior kind, to those of the neighbouring nations. Hence may be deduced the origin and peculiar excellence of their music; which, though injudiciously ^{ascribed} to the invention of Thracians, Mysians, and other barbarous strangers, must have been the natural production of Grecian genius, since the three most ancient modes of music were the Dorian, Ionian, and Eolian, corresponding with the three great divisions of the Hellenic race, and the three principal distinctions of the Hellenic tongue.⁴²

Causes of the perfection of the Grecian language and music.

The perfection of language, as well as of music, depends on the melody of its sounds; their measure or rhythm; their variety; and their suitability to the subject which they are meant to describe or to express. The circumstances of the Greeks in the earliest periods of their society rendered them peculiarly attentive to all these objects. They lived continually in crowds; all matters of consequence were decided by the voice of the assembly;

⁴² While detraction referred the discovery of music to strangers, vanity referred it to the gods; and both accounts serve to prove the great antiquity of the art. *Plut. de Music.*

⁴³ We owe the knowledge of this important circumstance to Heracleides of Pontus, the contemporary and scholar of Plato. His words are cited by Athenæus, l. xiv.

⁴⁴ See above, chap. ii.

and, next to the force of his arm, every warrior felt himself indebted to the persuasive accents of his tongue. The perpetual necessity of employing the power of eloquence during the infancy of their political state, made them retain the original tones and cadences by which men, as yet unpractised in the use of arbitrary signs, had made known their affections and their wants. These tones and cadences, imitating the language of action (the first and most natural language of solitary savages), possessed a degree of energy and of warmth which can never be attained by the mere artifice of articulate sounds⁴⁵. By uniting them to these sounds, the Greeks gave all the force of a natural, to an arbitrary sign. Music and action were incorporated in the substance of their speech; and the descriptive power of words was extended to all those objects which can be characterized by sound and motion; or which the various modifications of these qualities can suggest to the mind of man.

A language thus founded on the broad basis of nature, contained within itself the fruitful seeds of the imitative arts, and the rich materials of all that is *beautiful* and *grand* in literary composition⁴⁶. It

⁴⁵ See an excellent discourse of the Abbé Arnaud, on the Greek accents, in the 3d volume of the *Choix de Mémoires*.

⁴⁶ These words very inadequately express the ἡδὺς and the καλὸς of Dionysius, de Struct. Orat. The ingenious and philosophical critic ranges under two heads, the qualities of style fitted to please the ear and the imagination. These are the *sweet*, and the *fair*. Under the first are contained smoothness, beauty, grace, persuasion, etc. Under the second, dignity, weight, magnificence, and force. "The

CHAP. V. is a subject of equal curiosity and importance, to examine how these materials were wrought up, and how these seeds were unfolded. In attempting, with much diffidence, to give some account of this delicate and refined operation, we shall observe the division above-mentioned, and consider the melody, measure, variety, and expression of the Grecian poetry and music; arts once deemed so intimately connected, that their disjunction at the Pythian games, of which we have already taken notice, was emphatically compared by ancient writers to the separation of the soul and body.

Melody of language.

The pleasure arising from the agreeable succession of sounds depends either on the combination of letters, or on that of musical tones⁴⁷. The attention which the Greeks paid to the former, is evident from the whole structure of their language. Wherever propriety permits⁴⁸, they always employ full, open, and *magnificent* sounds; innumerable rules of flexion and derivation are founded merely on the pleasure of the ear; and the great principle of the fine arts, to move and affect, without fatiguing the senses, cannot be better illustrated

two kinds of style have a similar relation to each other, which the pleasures of the taste, expressed by the word *ἡδύς*, have to those of the eye, expressed by *καλός*.

⁴⁷ Dionysius comprehends both under the word *μελός*, melody.

⁴⁸ The *το πρίκρον*, Dionysius observes, may sometimes require harsh, close, and disagreeable sounds.

⁴⁹ The *μεγαλοπρεπές* of Dionysius.

than

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than by the inimitable composition¹⁰ of elements which characterizes the general texture of the Grecian tongue: Whether the ancient poets and orators discovered this composition by investigation, or only preferred it from taste, is a question that may be easily answered, if we reflect, that such a discovery by investigation supposes an acquaintance with the most abstruse principles of philosophy, principles altogether unknown in that early age, during which the composition of elemental sounds attained its highest beauty and perfection. We may therefore without temerity conclude, that sentiment first directed to the practice of those rules which reason afterwards approved; and that this progress equally obtained in the articulation of voice, and the intonation of sound.

The *latter*, the agreeable composition of which is properly styled melody, was improved to such an extraordinary degree about the time of Homer, as rendered the productions of Olympus, and other ancient poet-musicians, the admiration of all succeeding ages. Unfortunately for the history of the arts, we have not any such analysis of the music of Olympus, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus has left us of the poetry of Homer. We are informed, however, that the ancient melody was not

Melody of
Music.

¹⁰ As all languages are relative to the organs of speech, they may all be analyzed into about twenty-four letters, or elemental sounds, the combination of which forms the wonderful variety of language; a variety resulting from the respective characters and circumstances of different nations.

C H A P. V. only divided, like the modern, by tones and semitones, but also distinguished by the diesis, or quarter-tone; an interval of which modern musicians rarely make use. The genus of music, regulated by this interval, a genus to which the most powerful effects are ascribed by ancient writers, was known by the name of the enharmonic; the genus, proceeding by semitones, was called the chromatic; and the diatonic, which denotes a progression by tones and semitones, expressed a musical scale nearly resembling that of the modern nations of Europe".

The different genera.

Peculiar effect of the enharmonic genus explained.

These observations will give the reader an idea of the intervals in the different genera, which is all that we can learn on this subject from the learned collection of Meibomius. In none of the musical treatises in that collection do we find any specimen of ancient melody; nor are we enabled, by any circumstance mentioned in them, to ascertain the qualities which formed its principal merit. The invention of the enharmonic genus is ascribed by Plutarch to Olympus, who happening to skip certain intervals in the diatonic scale, observed the beauty of the effect, and the peculiar force and character which the regular omission of the same intervals bestowed on the melody. Upon this observation, he is said to have founded a new

" It is sufficient to explain the things signified by the enharmonic and diatonic. When, or why, these names were bestowed on the two kinds of music which they respectively denote, is disputed by philologists; and I have not met with any thing on the subject that seemed worthy of being transcribed.

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genus of music remarkable for simplicity, gravity, and grandeur. These qualities might, doubtless, be produced by the happy discovery, seconded by the lofty genius of Olympus; and to them; perhaps, we may refer the enthusiasm and sublimity by which his compositions were distinguished. The employing of the greater intervals supported the dignity and character, while the use of the diesis chiefly contributed to the refinement and delicacy, of Grecian music. The bold separation of notes expressed the firmer feelings, and described the stronger emotions of the soul; while the more insensible distinctions of sound painted the innumerable shades and faint fluctuations of passion; as when the voice gradually ascended through the smallest perceptible divisions, it would admirably express the progress of a respectful but ardent affection, unable to hide; yet afraid to reveal its force, and striving by repeated efforts to overcome its natural timidity.

But by whatever conjectures we may explain the powers of ancient enharmonic, it appears from the universal consent of Greek writers, that the melody of music and of language differed only in degree, not in kind. The variations of *accent*; for *that* is the proper word to express the melody of language, seldom exceeded, in common discourse, the difference of three notes and a half, which makes Dionysius observe, that it never exceeds the compass of one interval, the diapenté, or fifth. He pretends not, however, that in rhetorical declamation, the flexions of the voice

CHAP.
4.

Connection between the melody of language and music.

O. H. A. P. were so narrowly circumscribed; and it is probable that in poetry, their range was always more extensive than in the most animated prose. When the poet therefore composed his verse, he was obliged to pay an equal attention to accent and to quantity: the acuteness and gravity of sounds, as well as the length and shortness of syllables, contributed to the effect of his art; and each particular word having not only its determined duration, but its appropriated tones, obtained that place in the verse which was felt to be most agreeable to the ear, and best adapted to the subject. The poet therefore naturally performed the office of the musician; and clothed his own thoughts and sentiments with that combination of sounds, which rendered them most beautiful and expressive.

Of quantity and rhythm.

As accent regulated the melody, quantity regulated the rhythm of ancient music. The most melodious succession of tones, however flattering to the ear, must soon become tiresome and disagreeable, when continued without interruption or pause, and undistinguished by such proportions of duration, as are readily seized and measured by the senses. This truth the Greeks illustrated by a comparison. The most brilliant composition of colors is nothing better, they observed, than a gaudy show; dazzling the sight for a moment, but passing afterwards disregarded and unobserved. But to this showy coloring let the painter add the solid beauties of design, and he will convert an empty amusement of the eye, into an elegant entertainment of the fancy. What design is to coloring

measure is to melody. It is measure that animates the song; and which, combined with the inimitable charms of Grecian verse, produced those extraordinary effects, which the ignorance and credulity of early ages weakly deemed miraculous. On measure principally depended the different *modes* of music, by which the most opposite passions were alternately excited in the mind; and courage, pride, timidity, love, anger, resentment, successively diffused through a numerous assembly; at the will of a skilful composer. The difference of modes, indeed, arose also, in some measure, from the difference of key; and the same succession of sounds, pronounced with various degrees of acuteness or gravity, may doubtless produce effects more or less powerful: but dissimilar effects it never can produce; so that the grandeur of the Doric, the polished elegance of the Ionic, the soothing sweetness of the Eolic mode⁵², must have resulted from the rhythm or measure, which governing the movement of the verse, thereby determined its expression.

Besides these three modes, formerly mentioned as the original invention of Greece, the natives of that country gradually adopted several others that had been discovered by the neighbouring nations; particularly the Phrygian, consecrated to religious ceremonies, and the Lydian, appropriated to the expression of complaint or sorrow. The variety;

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V.

Of propriety and expression.

⁵² Lucian Harmon. sub initio, et Heraclid. apud Athenæum. l. xiv.

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C. H. A. P. indeed, at length became greater than can be easily
 V. conceived by such as are unacquainted with the
 Of the va- mechanism of ancient languages, Every species
 riety and of verse (and of verse there were above an hundred
 perfection different kinds) occasioned a change of musical
 of Grecian measure, and introduced what, in musical lan-
 music. guage, may be called a different time. These
 measures were only to be employed agreeably to
 the rules of propriety and decorum which had
 been discovered in those great principles of nature
 to which all rules of art must ultimately be re-
 ferred. A slow succession of lengthened tones ex-
 pressed moderation and firmness; a rapid inequality
 of verse betrayed disorderly and ignoble passions;
 the mind was transported by sudden transitions,
 and roused by impetuous reiterations of sound; a
 gradual ascent of notes accorded with all those
 affections which warm and expand the heart; and
 the contrary movement naturally coincided with
 such sentiments as depress the spirits, and extin-
 guish the generous ardor of the soul. Having
 fixed, with the most accurate precision, the wide
 variety of *modes* and *genera*, the Greeks seldom
 confounded them in the same piece, and never
 applied them to any subject which they had not
 been originally destined to express. The natural
 perceptions of taste were gradually strengthened by
 habit; the principles of music were clearly ascer-
 tained, and universally understood; and possessing
 the warmth and energy of the language of nature,
 they acquired the perspicuity and extent of the
 language of convention. This is justly deemed,

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the height of musical perfection", and to this CHAI
height the Greeks had attained, in the beginning V.
of the 6th century before Christ.

"The question, whether the Greeks knew music in parts, has been carefully examined by Mr. Burette (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*); by Rousseau (*Dictionnaire de Musique*); and by Dr. Burney (*History of Music*, vol. i. p. 146, et seq.). These writers, who are so well entitled to decide on this subject, pronounce the Greeks to have been unacquainted with counterpoint. But that their ignorance in this respect did not detract from the perfection, or diminish the effects of their music, may be credited, on the unspurious testimony of an ingenious Italian. "Il contrappunto, essendo "composito di varie parti, l'una acuta, l'altra grave, quella di "andamento presto, quella di tarde, che hanno a trovarsi insieme, "et ferir l'orecchie ad un tempo, come potrebbe egli muovere nell' "animo nostro, una tal determinata passione, la quale, di sua "natura, richiede un determinato moto, ed un determinato tuono?" Algarotti, *Saggio sopra l'Opera in Musica*.

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CHAP. VI.

The Grecian Bards. — Heroic Poetry. — Change of Manners. — Iambic or Satire. — Elegy. — Tyrtaeus, Callinus, Mimnermus — Life of Archilochus. — Terpander. — Lyric Poetry. — The Nine Lyric Poets. — Sappho, Alcaeus, Anacreon, Myrtis, Corinna, Pindar. — Effects of the Sacred Games. — Strength. — Courage. — Contempt of Prejudices. — Taste. — Moral Principle. — Intellectual Powers. — Genius.

CHAP. VI.

Early perfection of the Grecian music and poetry

POETRY has described the wonderful effects of Grecian music; and the inimitable excellence of ancient poets can alone render the description credible. Yet the early perfection of these elegant arts, asserted by the gravest writers of antiquity, seems extremely inconsistent with the received doctrines concerning the progress of civil society. Both in the ancient and modern world, the great system of practical knowledge, subservient to the useful purposes of human life, appears to have been slowly raised, and gradually extended, by successive trials, and reiterated efforts. Among savages, scarcely any distinction of professions takes place; the activity of each individual supplies his own wants. During the intermediate stages of society, men are still condemned to a wide variety of occupations; and their attention being

distracted by a multiplicity of pursuits, it is impossible that, in any one art, they should reach proficiency, or even aspire to excellence. But, contrary to this observation, the Grecian music and poetry are represented as most perfect in their united state; the immortal fathers of verse excelled alike, it is said, in all the various kinds of poetical composition¹; and their inimitable productions were so far from advancing, by a gradual progress, to perfection, that the most ancient are, by universal consent, entitled to a just preference².

The history of these admired authors is, unfortunately, as uncertain, as their merit was illustrious. The Greeks possessing much traditionary and little recorded information concerning the antiquities of their country, the great inventors of arts, and generous benefactors of society, have been deprived of their merited fame and well-earned honors. Their names indeed, like firm rocks resisting the assaults of the ocean, bid defiance to the depredations of time; but of Linus, Orpheus, Musæus, and Melampus, little else than the names remain; and to determine the time in which they

¹ We are told by Aristotle, in the 4th chapter of his Poetics, that Homer wrote an iambic poem, entitled Margites, bearing the same relation to comedy and satire, that the Iliad bears to tragedy and panegyric. Notwithstanding the express testimony of the great critic, two very elegant scholars have said, that the hexameter was the only kind of verse known in the time of Homer; the Abbé Arnaut, in his excellent discourse on the Greek accents, and Mr. Burette, in his Commentary on Plut. de Music.

² Græcorum antiquissima quæque scripta vel optima. Horat. Epist. l. ii, Ep. i.

CHAP. flourished, was a matter of as much difficulty two
VI. thousand years ago¹, as it remains in the present
age.

Since even the chronology of the ancient bards is so extremely uncertain², it cannot be expected that we should be able to give a circumstantial account of their life and writings. Instead of considering minutely, therefore, the private history of

¹ Herodotus, who read his history at the Olympic games 444 years B. C. expresses himself as follows: "Homer and Hesiod lived about four hundred years ago; not more; and these are the poets who composed a Theogony for the Greeks; who assigned to the gods their respective appellations and epithets; distinguished their several forms; and defined the arts in which they excelled, and the honors to which they were entitled. As to the poets who are supposed to have preceded them, I am of opinion that they flourished in a later age." According to Herodotus, therefore, the age of Homer is fifty years later than it is placed by the marbles of Pares. But on this subject we have surer evidence than any monuments of marble, or even the testimony of Herodotus can afford. The circumstantial minuteness, and infinite variety, which characterize the Iliad and Odyssey prove their inimitable author to have lived near the times which he describes. He conversed in his youth with those who had seen the heroes of the Trojan war; and, in the vigor of his age, beheld the grandchildren of Æneas, Ulysses, Achilles, and Agamemnon.

Νυν δὲ δὴ Ἀντίοχο γένος Τρωέσσιν ἀνέστη

Καὶ παῖδες παίδων τοῖς κεν μετόπισθε γένεσθαι. Iliad. xx. ver. 305.

The learned reader may consult the note on the passage in Clerk's Homer, where Dionysius of Halicarnassus is quoted, to prove that the poet says nothing inconsistent with Æneas's voyage into Italy. It is to be observed, that the force of the criticism evaporates in Mr. Pope's translation.

² The preceding note proves the ignorance of Herodotus, and his contemporaries, concerning the history of their ancient bards; since of these venerable fathers of the Grecian religion and policy, two are mentioned by Homer himself; Linus, in the description of the shield of Achilles, II. xviii; Melampus, in the 11th book of the Odyssey, ver. 15.

individuals, a task which suits neither the design C H A P.
of the present work, nor the incredulity of the VI.
present age, we shall endeavour to explain the
general nature and tendency of their profession, as
well as the circumstances which conspired to raise
it to that rank and dignity which it long held
in society. During the heroic ages, the Grecian
poets had one uniform character; and if we may
depend on the positive assertions of antiquity, the
same individual was alike successful in the various
branches of his divine art¹. The earliest poets,
therefore, may be represented in one picture, and
delineated by the same strokes, until their profes-
sion came to be separated into different departments.
We shall then distinguish the heroic, iambic, lyric,
elegiac, and other kinds of poetical composition;
offer some account of the improvers of each par-
ticular species; and examine such fragments of
their works as deserve attention, not merely on
account of their own intrinsic merit, but as genuine
and authentic, and indeed the only genuine and
authentic transcripts of the manners of that early
age in which they were composed.

In ancient Greece, the favorites of fortune
were often the favorites of the muses. There
remain not, indeed, the works of any Grecian
king; but we are told by Homer, that Achilles
sung to his lyre the glory of heroes; Amphion,
to whose musical powers such wonderful effects

The Gre-
cian bards.

¹ There are not any two kinds of poetry more different than those
ascribed to Homer by Aristotle, Poetic. chap. iv.

² *Movet Amphion lapides canendo.* Hor.

CHAP. VI., are ascribed, reigned in Thebes; the poet Melampus obtained royal authority in Argos; and Chiron, the wise Centaur⁷, though descended of the most illustrious ancestors, and entitled to the first rank among the Thessalian princes, preferred to the enjoyment of power, the cultivation of poetry, and retired, with his favorite muses, to a solitary cavern at the foot of mount Pelion, which was soon rendered, by the fame of his abilities, the most celebrated school of antiquity⁸.

The musical arts were not only deemed worthy the ambition of princes, but thought capable of elevating ordinary men to the first ranks in society. By excelling in such accomplishments, Anthes of Bœotia, Olen of Lycia, Olympus of Phrygia⁹, obtained the highest pre-eminence. Nor was it during their lifetime only that they enjoyed the happy fruits of their elegant labors. They were regarded as peculiarly deserving of a double immortality; living for ever in the memory of men, and being admitted, according to the belief of antiquity, to the most distinguished honors in the celestial regions¹⁰.

⁷ Most of the heroes of the Trojan war were his disciples. Xenoph. de Venat. sub initio,

⁸ Xenoph. *ibid.*

⁹ Mr. Burette has collected the most interesting particulars concerning these bards, in his Commentary on Plut. de Music.

¹⁰ Musæum ante omnes. Virg. *Æn.* vi. It is not easy to discover the reason why Virgil, in his *Elysium*, has placed Musæus before all the rest. This venerable bard, by some called the son, by others the disciple of Orpheus, is universally allowed to have been a native of Attica. The admirer of Grecian eloquence (Orabant Causas melius) intended, perhaps, to compliment the country of Musæus.

It has been already observed, that the texture of the Grecian tongue was singularly well adapted to the improvement of poetry; and this favorable circumstance was admirably seconded by the political condition of the Greeks in the early periods of their society. Religion then formed the sole principle of government; and the belief of religion was chiefly supported by the Theogonies²¹, while its ceremonies were principally adorned by the hymns of the bards. These two kinds of poetry, doubtless the most ancient and the most venerable, formed the main pillars of the political edifice; and the essential parts of this edifice consisting in the praise of the gods, its brightest ornaments were composed of the glory of heroes. The hymns maintained the power of religion, the song animated to valor; and both powerfully affected that peculiar sensibility of temper, and that romantic turn of fancy, the prevailing characteristics of Greece during the heroic ages.

Neither the Rüners of the north, nor the Troubadours of Provence, nor the Bards of Germany, nor even the Druids of Gaul and Britain, possessed more distinguished authority than the Aoidoi, or Rhapsodists, of the Greeks. The first requisite of their profession was, to know many soothing tales²²; and it was the daily object of their art, to

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Their influence on society.

²¹ A Theogony is a poem explaining, not merely, as the name denotes, the generation, but also the history of the gods. Most of the ancient poets mentioned in the text wrote Theogonies. Diod. l. i. lib. Plut. de Music.

²² Πολλά βέλγεσσι.

HOMER.

ON A P. VI. delight gods and men". The piety of the priest, and the inspiration of the prophet, were intimately connected with the enthusiasm of poetry; and poets, who had celebrated the glory of the past, were naturally employed to rear the hopes of the future generation". It is probable, however, that the ancient bards had frequent avocations from their literary labors. The curiosity, natural to men of genius, would frequently tempt them to visit distant countries. The admiration paid to their abilities could only be upheld by novelty. Both inclination and interest, therefore, would prompt them to sail to foreign lands, to examine their civil and religious institutions, and to converse with their priests and poets, from whom they might derive such information as would enable them, on their return home, to surprise, entertain, and instruct their fellow-citizens.

Their travels.

Of all nations, the Greeks enjoyed most advantages for travelling; and of all Grecian professions, that of the bard. The general diffusion of their national language and colonies, as well as the sacred character with which they were invested, entitled this venerable class of men to expect a secure retreat among the most inhospitable barbarians. Whatever country they visited, the

²³ *Θεοὶ καὶ ἀνθρώποι αἰδέοντο.*

HOMER.

²⁴ In early ages, the education of youth was intrusted only to the first ranks in society. This profession was practised in Greece by Homer, as we learn from his life, falsely ascribed to Herodotus, yet certainly very ancient. In Gaul it belonged to the Druids. Vid. Cæsar de Bello Gallico, l. vi.

elegant entertainment derived from their art procured them a welcome reception at religious festivals, and all public solemnities. Amidst the most dreadful calamities which afflict mankind, the bards alone were exempted from the common danger. They could behold, in safety, the tumult of the battle; they could witness, undisturbed, the horror of a city taken by storm; calm and serene themselves, they might contemplate the furious conflicts, and wild agitations, of the passions. It belonged to them only, and to the sacred character of the herald, to observe and examine, without personal danger, the natural expressions of fear, rage, or despair, in the countenances and gestures of the vanquished, as well as the insolent triumph of success; the fury of resentment, the avidity of gain, and the thirst of blood, in the wild aspect and mad demeanour of the victors. Having considered at full leisure the most striking peculiarities of those agitated and distressful scenes, the poet might retire to his cavern, or grotto, and there delineate, in secure tranquillity, such a warm and expressive picture of the manners and misfortunes of men, as should astonish his contemporaries, and excite the sympathetic terror and pity of the most distant posterity.

If the Grecian bards were fortunate in observing such events of their own age as were most susceptible of the ornaments of poetical imitation, they were still more fortunate in living at a period which afforded a wonderful variety of such events. Amidst the unsettled turbulence of rising states,

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VI.

The respect belonging to their character.

favorable to their poetical studies.

Peculiar advantages of the age in which they lived.

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C H A P. VI. the foundation and destruction of cities, the perpetual wars and negociations of neighbouring communities, they were daily presented with subjects worthy the grandeur of the heroic muse. The establishment of colonies, the origin of new superstitions, as well as the imaginary legends which supported the old, furnished copious materials for many a wondrous song. These materials, being eagerly embraced by the choice, were embellished by the fancy of the early bards; who, continually rehearsing them to their contemporaries, had an opportunity of remarking, in their approbation or dislike, the circumstances necessary to be added, taken away, or altered, in order to give their productions the happiest effect, and the highest degree of strength and beauty. As writing was little practised for the purpose of communicating knowledge, succeeding poets learned to repeat the verses of their predecessors; and, having treasured them in their memory, they adopted them as their own. Frequent repetition, attended with such careful observations as were natural to men whose character depended on the success of their art, led to new alterations and amendments²⁵; and their performances, thus improving by degrees, acquired that just measure of perfection, to which nothing could with propriety be added, and from which nothing could with propriety be taken away. In this manner, perhaps, the Iliad and Odyssey

The perfection and authority of their works.

²⁵ Εἰσηνεῖν τὴν ποιητικὴν ἐν τῶν αὐτοεχιδασμάτων.

Aristot. Poet. c. iv.

received

received the last polish; the harmonious animation of poetry was admired as the language of the gods; and poets, originally the ministers of heaven, the instructors of youth, and the rewarders of merit, were finally regarded as the great authors of religion, the principal benefactors of mankind, and, as shall be explained hereafter, the wise legislators of nations.

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As the singular manners and events of the heroic ages naturally produced the lofty strains of the epic muse, so the state of society in Greece, during the immediately succeeding periods, highly favored the introduction of other kinds of poetry. The abolition of the royal governments gave free scope to the activity and turbulence of democracy; and the rivalships and enmities of neighbouring states, rankling in the minds of their citizens, prepared the imaginations of men for taking a malignant pleasure in works of invective and reproach. The innumerable causes of alienation, hatred, and disgust, which operated also within the bosom of each little republic, opened an inexhaustible source of satire. The competition for civil offices, for military command, and for other places of trust, profit, or honor, all of which were conferred by the free suffrages of the people, occasioned irreconcilable variance between the ambitious members of the same community, and subjected the characters of men to mutual scrutiny and remark. The sentiments of the Greeks, not being perverted by the habits of slavery, nor restrained by the terrors

Change of
manners,
and intro-
duction of
iambic, or
satire.

of a despot, they boldly expressed what they freely thought; they might openly declare a just contempt; and, while they extolled in the lofty ode and swelling panegyric the heroes and patriots whom they admired, they lashed the cowards and traitors whom they despised, with all the severity of satire.

Elegiac
verse.

The purposes to which it was applied naturally suggested by the state of society.

The ode and satire may be successfully cultivated by imitators in the worst of times; but they could scarcely have been invented and perfected under any other than a popular government. The plaintive elegy, on the other hand, which describes the torments of unsuccessful love, or which paints the affliction of a miserable parent, an affectionate son, a disconsolate wife, or a faithful friend, for the loss of the several objects most dear to their hearts, seems to be the spontaneous production of every soil, and hardly to receive any change of impression from the fluctuating forms of society. The particular purposes, however, to which the Greeks principally applied this species of poetry, appear to have been suggested by their peculiar circumstances at the time of its origin. During the violence and disorder occasioned by the political revolutions, the frequent migrations, and the almost uninterrupted hostilities which succeeded and increased the calamities of the Trojan war, it was natural for those who reasoned concerning the affairs of men, to form, according to the original bent of their minds, two opposite theories for the best improvement of human life. Men of a firm texture of soul would prepare for the misery which

awaited them, by strengthening their natural hardi-
 ness, and fortifying their natural intrepidity. The
 contempt of pain, and danger, and death, would
 be the great principle of their lives; and the
 perpetual subject of their song; and while they
 described the inevitable disgrace of weakness and
 cowardice, they would extol, with the most lively
 sensibility, the glory of valor, the triumphs of success,
 and the joys of victory. Such themes might delight
 the martial muse of Tyrtæus and Callinus, but
 could offer no charms to the effeminate softness
 of Mimnermus, or the licentious debauchery of
 Archilochus. To persons of their character, the
 calamities of the times, instead of appearing an
 argument for virtue, would prove an incitement
 to pleasure. The precarious condition of their lives
 and fortunes, while it depreciated all other objects,
 would increase the value of present enjoyment.
 In the agreeable amusements of the fleeting hour,
 they would seek refuge against the melancholy
 prospect of futurity. The pleasures of the table,
 the delights of love, the charm of the elegant arts
 and of conversation, would be perpetually studied
 in their lives, and perpetually recommended in
 their poetry.

The precious remains of their writings, and still
 more the authentic circumstances related concern-
 ing the characters of the ancient poets, sufficiently
 confirm the truth of these observations. Next to
 Homer, Archilochus is the earliest Greek writer,
 whose life is recorded so minutely as may serve to
 throw any considerable light on the history of his

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These ob-
 servations
 illustrated
 by the his-
 tory of Ar-
 chilochus.
 Olymp.
 xv. 3.
 A. C. 718.

country. We are told by Herodotus ¹⁶, that he
 VI. flourished in the time of Gyges, king of Lydia, who mounted the throne seven hundred and eighteen years before Christ. He was a native of the isle of Paros, one of the Cyclades, which had already become wealthy and populous. His father, Teleficles, must have been a person of distinction, since he was employed to head a deputation of his countrymen to the oracle of Apollo. The object of the Parians was to obtain a favorable answer from the god concerning an enterprise, which they had long meditated, of settling a colony in the valuable island of Thasos, opposite to the coast of Thrace. The oracle approved the design, and in order to reward the respectful behaviour, and to repay the rich presents delivered to the holy shrine by Teleficles, who had unfortunately disgraced the dignity of his rank by an unequal marriage with a beautiful slave named Enipo, declared that the fame of Archilochus, the glorious fruit of this dishonorable connexion, should descend to the latest ages of the world.

The prophecy would naturally contribute to its own accomplishment; especially as Archilochus descended from a family, in which the love of poetry was an hereditary passion. Tellis, his grandfather, accompanied the priests of Ceres, in order to establish the Eleusinian mysteries in the isle of Thasos, an employment, which, like the sacred commission of Teleficles at the city of Apollo,

¹⁶ Lib. i. cap. 12.

could not have been exercised by any other than a favorite of the Muses. Enjoying the example of such ancestors, and encouraged by the admonition of the god, it was to be expected that the young poet should second the gifts of nature by the efforts of industry; and that his juvenile productions should soon have been distinguished above those of his contemporaries, by dignity of sentiment, force of expression, and beauty of imagery.

In that martial age, no superiority of genius, rank, or fortune could exempt its possessor from the duty of serving his country in the exercise of arms¹⁷. The Parian colony in Thasos, having ineffectually endeavoured by its own strength to establish a settlement in Thrace, was obliged, in order to accomplish this design, to have recourse to the assistance of the parent isle. Archilochus served in this expedition, which, though finally successful, was chequered with a great variety of fortune. During an engagement with the barbarous Thracians, in which his countrymen were defeated and put to flight, he saved his life by throwing away his shield; an action so extremely inconsistent with the military prejudices of the age, that all his eloquence and ingenuity were incapable of extenuating its infamy.

On his return home, he renewed his addresses to a Parian damsel named Neobulé. Her father

¹⁷ This was not the case in the heroic ages; the bards, though called *Hæwæ*, as being of the first rank in society, were exempted from the fatigues of war. Hom. *Odys.* passim.

C. H. A. P. VI. Lycambes, who had at first granted, afterwards refused his consent, whether disgusted by the unwarlike and therefore contemptible character of Archilochus, or tempted by the alluring offers of a richer rival. If we believe the poet, it was avarice alone that corrupted the sordid mind of Lycambes; and both he and his daughter, regardless of their plighted faith and repeated oaths, sacrificed their sentiments and character to the mean gratification of this ignoble passion.

This assertion he maintained by his poetical invectives, full of indignation and resentment against the whole family of the supposed traitors. His verses were rehearsed at the public games, where the force and vivacity of the satire were universally admired. Calumny, however seems to have joined her poisoned darts to the more fair and equitable weapons employed by the anger of disappointed love. Neobulé and her sisters were accused of every vice most inconsistent with the modest dignity of the female character. Yet such an accusation is extremely improbable, considering the reserved circumspection of Neobulé herself, during the ardent solicitations of Archilochus; a behaviour which naturally increased the fire of his passion, and sharpened the edge of his satire.

His reproach and calumny, however ill-grounded and unreasonable, gained an easy credit among the rivals and enemies of Lycambes; and the bitter taunts and invectives, which the malice of the poet had invented, the scornful contempt of the Parians too faithfully retained. An old poem was

no sooner in danger of being forgotten, than it was succeeded by new verses, couched in the liveliest turns of ingenious satire. The perpetual strokes of malevolence, darted against the family of Lycambes by the persevering cruelty of the poet, rendered their characters suspicious to the public, and their lives painful to themselves. They determined to withdraw from a scene, which seemed a constant variation of misery; and died in despair by their own hands.

The poems which produced this melancholy effect, and of which some scattered remains have reached the present times, were written in iambic " verse of six and four feet. When the lines were of the same length throughout, the piece was entitled an iambic; but when short and long verses alternately succeeded each other, it was called, from this circumstance, an epode "; a name which Horace has given to those performances in which he imitated the poetry and spirit of Archilochus, not copying, with servility, his sentiments and expression ".

²⁸ The term iambic is synonymous in Greek with the words reproachful, satirical. Arist. Poet.

²⁹ This word, concerning the meaning of which there have been innumerable disputes, simply denotes the succession of verses or stanzas of different length or structure. In the first sense it is explained in the text; in the second it will be explained in speaking of the ode, of which the epode regularly formed the third stanza, as we learn from Hephæstion, Terentianus Maurus, Marius Victorinus, and other ancient grammarians and philologists.

³⁰ *Parios ego primus iambos*

Ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus

Archilochi, non res, et ægeia verba Lycamben.

Epil. lib. i. 19.

CHAPTER. Though iambic was the favorite ²¹ pursuit of
 VL Archilochus, his genius was not entirely confined
 to that species of writing. Endowed with an
 extreme sensibility of heart, he was inclined to
 gratitude and friendship, as well as to enmity and
 resentment. Animated by the former sentiments,
 he lamented the death of a kinsman and friend,
 who had unfortunately perished by shipwreck.
 The piece consisted of alternate hexameter and
 pentameter verses, and abounded in elegiac strains,
 which were admired by the greatest critics of
 antiquity. The sublime Longinus, in particular,
 extols the affecting description of the shipwreck;
 and Plutarch ²² has preserved the conclusion of
 the piece, in which the poet having asserted the
 hurtfulness of sorrow to the living, and its inutility
 to the dead, determines thenceforth to abstain
 from unavailing lamentations, and to seek relief
 for his affliction in wine, love, and other sensual
 pleasures.

His malignity.

These sentiments of Archilochus seem to prove,
 that whatever may have been the poetical merit of
 his elegy, the tender passions were less fitted than
 the irascible, to make a durable impression on his
 heart. He soon forsook the elegiac muse; and his
 natural disposition, as well as the fame which he
 had already acquired by his satires, led him to
 pursue that species of writing with unabating
 ardor. The perpetual rivalships and competitions
 among the principal Parian citizens, who aspired

²¹ Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo.

²² De audiend. Poet.

at the first offices of government, frequently degenerating into hatred, malice, and revenge, they observed, with infinite delight, the aspersions, however foul and false, that were cast on their opponents. The malignity of the public thus nourished and exasperated the venom of the poet; but there was a degree of virulence beyond which it could not proceed. After making the circle of the whole society, and equally offending friends and foes by his excessive and indiscriminate reproach, Archilochus came to be regarded as a public enemy. The licentious impunity of his manners, which bid defiance to every law of decency and of nature, heightened the detestation of his character; and he was compelled to fly in disgrace from his native island, to which his genius would have been an ornament, had his behaviour been more modest and inoffensive²³.

Banished from the isle of Paros, the poet sought protection in the Thasian colony, to the establishment of which the services of his father had so eminently contributed; but, unfortunately for his repose, the fame of his satires had gone before him, and the disgrace of having lost his shield in the Thracian expedition was a stain not easily wiped off. His reception among the Thasians, therefore, answered neither his own expectations, nor the liberal spirit of ancient hospitality. He soon quitted a place in which his company was so little acceptable, yet not before he had

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Banishment.

Wanderings.

²³ Critias apud Elian. Hist. l. ix. c. xiii.

C H A P. VI. lampooned the principal citizens of Thasos, and endeavoured, by a singular and absurd excess of resentment, to satirize the narrowness and sterility of the island itself.

Recovers
the public
esteem at
Olympia.

The wandering poet was not more fortunate in several other districts of Greece in which he took refuge. The warlike Spartans would scarcely admit into their city, a writer who had said that it was better for a foldier to lose his shield than his life, because he might purchase new armor, but could not acquire a new existence. Archilochus, thus abandoned, persecuted, and contemned, made one spirited effort for recovering his ancient character, and regaining the public esteem. The time approached for celebrating the Olympic festival. The irregularity of his manners, the general detestation of his behaviour, and, above all, his vindication of cowardice, would, according to general rules, have excluded him from assisting at that solemnity: but having removed the prejudices which the citizens of Elis had naturally conceived against him, by displaying his wonderful talents for music and poetry, he took care to insinuate that he was possessed of an ode in praise of Hercules, which, if rehearsed before the public assembly, would equally entertain the fancy, and improve the piety of the spectators. The interest of religion being materially concerned in this proposal, the judges of the games thought proper to comply with it. Archilochus appeared on the appointed day among the Olympic bards. After his competitors had given specimens of their

art in such musical compositions as the audience were accustomed to hear, he began the song in honor of Hercules, accompanied with the sound of his lyre, and written with such new variations of verse, as necessarily occasioned new modulations of melody. It is probable that, on this occasion, he first practised the invention ascribed to him by Plutarch²⁴, of passing, with a rapidity, from one rhythm, or measure, to another of a different kind. The novelty, the beauty, and the grandeur of his composition ravished the senses, and elevated the souls of his hearers. The demerit of the performer was obliterated in the perfection of his song. The unanimous applause of the assembly declared his superiority to every rival, and he was immediately rewarded by the prize, and adorned with the crown, of victory²⁵.

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Having acquired such distinguished renown in the public theatre of assembled states, Archilochus returned, with exultation, to his native country, the glory of which had been proclaimed at Olympia, in consequence of the successful merit of a banished citizen. This proclamation being deemed the highest honor which an individual could procure for his community, the hatred and resentment formerly entertained against the poet was converted into gratitude and admiration. The

Returns to
his native
island.

²⁴ De Music.

²⁵ We learn from Pindar and his Scholiast, *Ode Olymp. ix.* that this celebrated poem of Archilochus long continued to be sung at the Olympic games, in order to grace the coronation of those victors who either could not afford, or who did not incline, to purchase an ode in their particular honor.

C H A P. renewed respect of his country occasioned many
 VI. ebullitions of poetical vanity, which evaporated in
 some verses that have reached the present times".
 When death put an end to his labors, it could
 not extinguish his fame. His obsequies were dis-
 tinguished by every sad circumstance of funeral
 His singu- pomp; and his memory was celebrated by a festi-
 lar ho- val, established by the gratitude of his country-
 nors. men, and adopted by the general admiration of
 the Greeks, during which the verses of Archilochus
 were sung alternately with the poems of Homer²⁶:
 and thus, by a fatality frequently attending men
 of genius, he spent a life of misery, and acquired
 honor after death. Reproach, ignominy, con-
 tempt, poverty, and persecution were the ordinary
 companions of his person; admiration, glory, re-
 spect, splendor, and magnificence were the me-
 lancholy attendants of his shade.

History of
 the lyric
 poets.
 Terpan-
 der.

Archilochus was the principal improver, not
 only of the iambic, but of the graver kind of lyric
 poetry; and Terpander, who flourished in the
 same age, was, as far as we can trace the history
 of the arts, the chief promoter of the gay and
 festive kinds of lyric composition. This agreeable
 poet was a native of Lesbos. He obtained the
 musical prize in the Carnean festival at Sparta; and
 in the beginning of the seventh century before
 Christ, gained four successive prizes at Delphi, as
 appeared by a correct register of the conquerors in

²⁶ Athenæus, l. xiv. Pausanias, l. x. Stobæus, serm. 123.

²⁷ Anthol. p. 212. Aristot. Rhetor. l. ii.

the Pythian games, preserved in the time of Plutarch²⁸. These advantages procured him the respect of his contemporaries; but he was honored by posterity chiefly for his improvement of the lyre, and for the new varieties of measure which he introduced into the Grecian poetry²⁹.

The example of Archilochus and Terpander³⁰ was followed by the nine Lyric poets, who, in the course of two centuries, flourished almost in regular succession, and maintained the poetic fame of their country. Of the two most ancient, Alcman and Stesichorus, we have only a few imperfect remains: of Sappho there are two complete odes; her followers Alcæus, Simonides, Ibycus, and Bacchilides are known by a few mutilated fragments, and by the remarks of ancient critics; but we still possess many inimitable odes of Pindar, and many pleasant songs of Anacreon.

As to the Grecian lyrists in general, it is worthy of observation, that except Alcman of Sardis, who on account of his merit was naturalized at Sparta, Pindar of Thebes in Bœotia, and Stesichorus of Aimeira in Sicily, all the rest were born on the Asiatic coast, or in the islands of the Ægean sea. These enchanting climates were the best adapted to inspire the raptures peculiar to the ode,

Sappho,
Alcæus,
etc.

²⁸ De Music.

²⁹ Euclid. Harmon. Strabo, l. xiii.

³⁰ Πινδαρός φησιν ὅτι τῶν σκεδίων μελῶν Τερπανδρὸς εὐρετής ἐστὶ. Plut. de Music. "Pindar says, that Terpander invented the Scho-
"lia," which, according to Pollux and Hesychius, properly denote the drinking songs of the Greeks; but, in a more general sense, signify every kind of lyric poetry not aspiring to the dignity of the ode.

as well as to excite that voluptuous gaiety characteristic of the Grecian song³¹. Amidst the romantic scenes of Ionia, was felt with uncommon sensibility the force of that pleasing painful passion, which, uniting grief; joy, and enthusiasm, contains the fruitful seeds of whatever is most perfect in music and poetry³². Here the celebrated Sappho breathed the amorous flames by which she was consumed; while her countryman and lover Alcæus declared the warmth of his attachment, excited less perhaps by the beauty of her person, than by the bewitching charms of her voice. But neither Alcæus, who flourished in the beginning of the sixth, nor Anacreon, who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century before Christ, allowed the natural vivacity of their tempers to be overcome by the severities of a passion which they considered chiefly as an instrument of pleasure. When unfortunate in love, they had recourse to wine; and their lively invitations to this enjoyment composed the favorite *airs* of antiquity³³. Of Alcæus it is usual to judge by the scattered remains of his works preserved in Plutarch³⁴ and Athenæus³⁵, and by the high commendations bestowed on him by Horace and Quintilian. The Latin poet, however, seems on many occasions to have

³¹ Hippocrat. de Locis, vol. ii. p. 346. Edit. Lugd. Bat.

³² Agreeably to the principles established by Theophrastus in Plutarch. Symposium.

³³ Give us a song of Alcæus or Anacreon, was a common saying in the age of Socrates. Athenæus, l. x. c. viii.

³⁴ Sympos. c. vi.

³⁵ Lib. x.

to exactly imitated, or rather translated the Greek, C H A P. VI.
that the copy will perhaps best enable us to form a complete idea of the original."

Alcæus, though he chiefly indulged in the gay and sportive strains of poetry, was yet qualified to undertake more lofty" themes; but the whole soul of Anacreon was of that effeminate texture which fitted him only to sing of love and pleasure". Venus, Bacchus, Cupid, and the Graces were the peculiar divinities whom he adored; and the presents which he offered at their shrine were the most acceptable that any mortal could bestow. He not only observed the external rites and ceremonies which they commanded, but proved that his heart and mind had imbibed the genuine spirit of their worship. Throughout the whole of his works now remaining", there reign the most inimitable simplicity, purity, and sweetness of diction: his

³⁶ Μῆδεν ἄλλο Οὐτευσῆς προτέρων δένδρον ἀμπέλῃ. ALC.

Nullam, Vare, sacra vite, prius fevetis arborem.

Other translations, equally literal, may be discovered by carefully examining the fragments in Athenæus, l. x.

³⁷ In lusus et amores descendit, majoribus tamen aptior. QUIN.
l. x. c. i.

³⁸ Ἄ βαρβυτος δὲ χορδαίς

ἔρωτα μόνον ἤχει —

ANAC. Od. i.

³⁹ The works of Anacreon are said, by Petrus Alcyonius de exilio, to have been burned by the Greek priests of Constantinople, from which some learned men, destitute of taste, have absurdly concluded, that the works ascribed to the old poet are spurious. It cannot, surely, be said of those poems, "Etsi excitant animos nollorum hominum ad flagrantierem religionis cultum, non tamen verborum Atticorum proprietatem et linguæ Græcæ elegantiam docent;" which is the character that Petrus Alcyonius gives of the compositions substituted by the priests in their place.

C H A P. verses flow with a smooth volubility ; his images ;
VI. sentiments, and reasonings (if what in him seems intuitive conviction can be called reasonings) are copied from the warmest impressions of nature. Yet in these poems, otherwise so beautiful and so perfect, there may be discovered an extreme licentiousness of manners, and a singular voluptuousness of fancy, extending beyond the senses, and tainting the soul itself.

Stesichorus.

The dissolute gaiety of Anacreon, the delicate sensibility of Sappho, and the tearful complaints of Simonides **, were all expressed in that easy equable flow of uninterrupted harmony, which, in the opinion of the most learned of their countrymen **, possesses more grace than strength, and more beauty than grandeur. The majestic muse of Stesichorus soared a loftier pitch. Disdaining the subjects to which the other lyrists descended, he sung of war and heroes, and supported, by his harp, the whole weight and dignity of epic poetry **. Such, at least, are the sentiments of a celebrated critic, who had read his works, of which we are at present entitled to judge only by their resemblance to those of Pindar, who possessed a similar turn of genius, and treated the same lofty themes.

Pindar.

The honors bestowed on Pindar by his contemporaries, as well as the admiration in which his name was uniformly held by the most improved

** *Mæstius lachrymis Simonideis.* Catull.

** *Dionysius Halicarn.*

** *Epici carminis onera lyrâ sustinentem.* Quint.

nations of antiquity, render both his person and his works objects of a very natural curiosity. He was born five hundred and twenty years before Christ, and his long life almost completed the full revolution of a century. His age, therefore, extended beyond the period of history now under our review; yet the works of his predecessors having perished by the ravages of time and barbarism, it is necessary to examine, in this place, the nature and character of the writings of Pindar, as the only materials remaining that can enable us to form a general notion of the performances recited by the lyric poets at the principal Grecian solemnities. Pindar, from his earliest years, was carefully trained by his father (himself a musician) to the studies of music and poetry. His genius naturally wild and luxuriant, was corrected by the lessons of his fair country-women; Myrtis and Corinna³³, whose poetical productions had acquired unrivalled fame, not only in Thebes, but among all the neighbouring cities³⁴. His first efforts for equalling their renown were displayed at the musical contests celebrated in his native country; where, after conquering Myrtis, he was five times overcome by Corinna, who, could we believe the voice of scandal, owed her repeated victories more to the charms of her beauty than to the superiority of her genius³⁵. But in the four public assemblies of Greece, where females were not admitted to con-

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the admission in which he was held.

³³ Pausanias. l. ix. c. xxij.

³⁴ Lucian. Ælian. Var. Hist.

³⁵ Pausan. *ibid.*

C H A P. VI. tend, Pindar carried off the prize from every competitor. The glory, in particular, which his poetry both acquired and bestowed at Olympia, made the greatest generals and statesmen of the age court the friendship of his muse. To the temples of the gods, and especially to the celebrated temple of Delphi, his hymns and poems drew an extraordinary concourse of Greeks and strangers. The priests, prophets, and other ministers of Apollo, sensible of the benefits which they derived from his musical fame, repaid the merit of his services by erecting his statue in the most conspicuous part of the temple, and declared by their organs the Pythia, that Pindar should be honored with one half of the first-fruit-offerings annually presented by the devout retainers of the Delphian shrine⁴⁶. Pindar was thus, during his lifetime, associated to the honors of the gods; and after his death, his memory was adorned by every mark of respect that public admiration can bestow. The beauty of the monument, erected to him by his fellow-citizens in the Hippodrome of Thebes, was admired after the revolution of six centuries⁴⁷. At the Theoxenian festival, a portion of the sacred victim was appropriated, even as late as the time of Plutarch, to the descendants of the poet. The inveterate hostility of the Spartans, when they destroyed the capital of their ancient and cruellest enemies, spared the house of Pindar, which was equally respected in a future age by the warlike and

⁴⁶ Pausan. Phocic.⁴⁷ Pausan. Boeotjs.

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Impetuous son of Philip, and the giddy triumph of his Macedonian captains “.

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*VI.

Division
and nature
of his
works.

Pindar, we are told, acquired unrivalled fame by his hymns to Jupiter, his pœans to Apollo, and his dithyrambics to Bacchus. But as all these works have perished, as well as his love verses, his elegies, and his Parthenia “, we are unfortunately obliged to confine our observations to the odes, which were rehearsed at the sacred games, in praise of the conquerors in the gymnastic and equestrian contests. These conquerors being persons of the first distinction in Greece, the poet takes occasion to celebrate the splendor of their past lives, the dignity of their character, the fame of their ancestors, and the glory of their several republics. The tutelary deities, to whom they owed their felicity, are not forgotten; and hence, by an easy transition, the poet passes to the worship of the god in whose honor the games were established; to the adoration of the heroes who had appointed them; and to innumerable other episodes, which are often more interesting and more beautiful than the original subject.

Such, most commonly, are the materials of the ode; and its form usually consisted of three stanzas, of which the two first were of an equal length, and either of them longer than the third. This arrangement was introduced as most suitable to the occasion of the poem, as well as to the scene on

“ Polyb. Hist.

“ Sung, as the word denotes, by a chorus of virgins.

C H A P. which it was rehearsed. The occasion was the
VI. solemn sacrifice, accompanied by a public entertainment given to the spectators by the friends of the successful candidate for Olympic fame. Grateful acknowledgments to the gods formed a principal part of the ceremony, which could not, without impiety, be omitted by the victor, who had obtained so honorable a prize through the assistance of his protecting divinity. On the altar of this divinity the sacrifice was performed; and in his temple was sung the panegyrical poem, containing the united praises of the beneficent god, and of his favored votary. The chorus waited, as usual, to begin the song, till preparations were made for the feast. They repeated the first stanza, properly called *strophé*, while they gratefully danced, towards the right, round the well-replenished altar; returning, in an opposite direction, to the place from which they set out, they recited the second stanza, therefore called *antistrophé*; then standing motionless before the altar, and, as it were, in the immediate presence of the divinity, with whose statue it was adorned, they sung the concluding stanza, with a richer exuberance, and more complicated variations, of melody⁵⁰. The ode, therefore, was distinguished from other pieces of poetry, not by being set to music⁵¹ (for this was common to them all), but by being sung by a

⁵⁰ Marius Victorinus de Gram. and the Scholia on Hephæstion.

⁵¹ This error runs through the whole of the otherwise very sensible discourse of Mr. Chabanon on lyric poetry, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie*.

chorus, who accompanied the various inflections of the voice with suitable attitudes and movements of the body. C H A P. VI.

The lyric poetry of the Greeks thus united the pleasures of the ear, of the eye, and of the understanding. In the various nature of the entertainment consisted its essential merit and perfection; and he only could be entitled the prince of lyric poets, whose verses happily conspired with the general tendency of this complicated exhibition. By the universal consent of antiquity, this poet is Pindar, whom, ever since the eulogium of Horace, critics have extolled for the brilliancy of his imagination, the figurative boldness of his diction, the fire, animation, and enthusiasm of his genius. The panegyrics, bestowed on him, have generally more of the wildness of the ode, than of the coolness of criticism; so that the peculiar nature of his excellences may still deserve to be explained. It will be allowed by every one who reads his works with attention, that, great as his ideas are, Pindar is less distinguished by the sublimity of his thoughts and sentiments, than by the grandeur of his language and expression; and that his *inimitable* excellence consists in the energy, propriety, and magnificence of his style, so singularly fitted to associate with the lengthened tones of music, and the figured movements of the dance. The uniform cadence, the smooth volubility, and the light unimportance of ordinary composition, are

His characteristic excellence.

³² Pindarum quisquis studet emulari, etc.

C H A P. VI. extremely ill adapted to this association, which bringing every single word into notice, and subjecting it to observation and remark, must expose its natural meanness, insignificance, and poverty. But as much as the language of ordinary writers would lose, that of Pindar would gain, by such an examination. His words and phrases are chosen with an habitual care, and possess a certain weight and dignity, which, the more they are contemplated, must be the more admired. It is this magnificence of diction, those compound epithets, and those glowing expressions (which the coldness of criticism has sometimes condemned as extravagant) that form the transcendent merit of the Pindaric style, and distinguish it even more than the general flow of the versification, which is commonly so natural, free, and unrestrained, that it bears less resemblance to poetry, than to a beautiful and harmonious prose. It is not meant, however, that this great poet paid more attention to the choice, than to the arrangement, of words. The majesty of the *composition* equalled, and in the opinion of a great critic, even surpassed the value of the materials. Dionysius, the critic to whom I allude, has explained by what admirable refinements of art, Pindar gave to his words a certain firmness and solidity of consistence, separated them at wide intervals, placed them on a broad base, and raised them to a lofty eminence, from which they darted those irradiations of splendor, that astonished the most distant beholders.

But the most exalted fame cannot extend with equal facility to distance of time and distance of place. The poems of Pindar are now deprived of their accompaniments of music and dancing, by which they were formerly ennobled and adorned. They are now read in the retirement of the closet, without personal interest and without patriotic emotion. They were anciently sung to large assemblies of men, who believed the religion which they described, knew the characters whom they celebrated, and felt the influence of that piety and patriotism which they were admirably calculated to uphold. Such passages as may appear most exceptionable in the cool moments of solitary study, would obtain the highest applause amidst the joyous animation of social triumph, when men are naturally disposed to admire every happy boldness of expression, and to behold, with unusual rapture, those lofty and dangerous flights which elevate the daring muse of Pindar.

In examining the effect of the games, as institutions for bodily exercise and mental improvement, it is necessary to reflect, not only on the universality of their establishment, but on the frequency of their repetition. Besides the public solemnities already described, innumerable provincial festivals were celebrated in each particular republic. The Athenians employed near a third part of the year in such amusements; and if we may be allowed to conjecture, that those communities which instituted most festivals, would most excel in the arts and exercises displayed in them,

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Physical
effects of
the public
games.

CHAP. VI. we may conclude, from the national designations of the Olympic victors preserved in ancient authors, that the number of the Athenian festivals was rivalled by that of several other states.

For these warlike and elegant amusements, the youth were carefully trained by the discipline of the gymnasia, in which they learned whatever can give strength and agility to the limbs, ease and grace to the motions, force and beauty to the genius. Bodily strength and agility were accompanied by health and vigor of constitution. Their athletic hardiness bore, without inconvenience, the vicissitudes of cold and heat. Even in the scorching warmth¹¹ of July (for that was the season of the Olympic games), they received, bareheaded, the direct rays of the sun. And the firm organization, acquired by perpetual exercise, counteracted that fatal propensity to vicious indulgence, too natural to their voluptuous climate, and produced those inimitable models of strength and beauty, which are so deservedly admired in the precious remains of Grecian statuary.

They produced courage.

These corporeal advantages were followed by a train of excellences to which they are nearly allied. There is a courage depending on nerves and blood, which was improved to the highest pitch among the Greeks. They delight, says Lucian¹², to behold the combats of bold and generous animals; and their own contentions are still more animated. In the memorable war with Persia,

¹¹ Lucian, Solon.

¹² In Solon.

they showed the superiority of their national courage; and it is worthy of observation, that the most signal exploits were performed in the field of battle by those who had been previously adorned with the Olympic crown. It was a general boast, that one Grecian could conquer ten Persians⁵⁵; and the suggestions of reason tend to confirm the evidence of history. In the battles of the Greeks and Persians, victory was not obtained by the mechanical exertions of distant hostility. The contest was decided by the point of the sword and spear. The use of these weapons requires activity of the limbs, steadiness of the eye, and dexterity of the hand. It improves the courage as well as the vigor of the soldier; and both qualities were admirably promoted by the habitual exercises of the gymnasia, which inspired not only the spirit to undertake, but the ability to execute, the most dangerous and difficult enterprises.

The gymnastic arts encouraged other excellences still more important than bodily accomplishments and courage. Chiefly by *their* influence, the love of pleasure and the love of action, the two most powerful principles in the human breast, were directed to purposes not only innocent but useful. The desire of an Olympic crown restrained alike those weaknesses which form the disgrace, and those vices which form the guilt and misery of undisciplined minds; and an object of earthly and perishable ambition led to the same external purity and temperance, that is recommended by the

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and temperance.

⁵⁵ Herodot. I. viii.

VI. precepts, and enforced by the sanctions, of a divine and immutable religion. The oil, the crown, the robes, and the palms, compose not the *only* resemblance between the Christian and the Olympic victors. These visible images have been borrowed indeed by the sacred writers, to assist our imperfect conception of divine truths⁵⁶; but they have been borrowed from an institution which resembles Christianity, not in the honors and rewards which it proposed, but in the efforts and duties which it required. The ambition of honest fame⁵⁷ taught men to control the appetites of the body by the affections of the soul; the springs of emulation repressed the allurements of sensuality; one dangerous passion combated another still more dangerous; and a train of useful prejudices supported the cause, and maintained the ascendant of virtue.

Contempt for the modern notions concerning the point of honor.

Many of the peculiarities which distinguish the Greeks from the mass of ancient and modern nations, seem to have derived their origin from the same useful institutions; particularly the custom of going unarmed, and their perpetual contempt for the capricious notions concerning the point of honor. These unpolished republicans were accustomed, in the private gymnasias, as well as at the public entertainments, to inflict and to suffer the most provoking indignities. A barbarous Scythian, who witnessed a spectacle that seemed

⁵⁶ I Corinth. 9th chapter, four last verses.

⁵⁷ Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,
Multa tulit secitque puer, sudavit et alit,
Abstulit venere et vino.

to him as shocking and intolerable as it would appear to a punctilious modern gentleman, declared to his Athenian conductor, that if any person should offer the same insults to him, which the Athenian youths were continually offering to each other, he would soon convince the assembly, that his sword was not an empty ornament of his person, but an useful guardian of his honor¹⁸. Such were the sentiments of the Scythian; and history proves, that such are the sentiments of all uncultivated minds. An untutored barbarian sets no bounds to his resentment. The smallest injury renders his anger implacable; his indignation against the offender is proportioned, not to the nature of *his* offence, but to his own pride, which is boundless. The slightest fault requires the severest atonement; and not only a blow, but a word, or a look, may inflict a stain on the delicacy of his supposed honor, which can only be washed out by the blood of the aggressor. The excesses of this sanguinary temper, before they were corrected by the refinements of Grecian philosophy, were repressed by the habitual practice of the gymnastic exercises. In the schools appropriated to the advancement of these manly arts, the Greeks learned the valuable lesson of repelling injuries by others of a similar kind, of proportioning the punishment to the offence, and of thus preventing a slight occasion of animosity from degenerating into a solid ground of revenge. If any

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¹⁸ Lucian. Anacharsis.

C H A P. citizen of those warlike republics had worn armor
VI. in time of peace, he must have been regarded either as a madman or as an assassin; for to the chastised principles of Grecian discipline, it would have appeared altogether absurd that the sword or dagger should be thought necessary to retaliate the reproaches of the tongue, or even the more daring insults of the arm.

Emulation
 and re-
 wards of
 the victors.

The entertainments of the public festivals thus tended to eradicate the wild excesses of resentment, and to improve the mild and gentle virtues; but considered in another view, the same entertainments were calculated to promote ardor, emulation, friendship, patriotism, and all the animated principles and contentions of active life. The rewards bestowed on the conquerors were the most flattering which in that age could be proposed. Odes were sung in their praise; statues were erected to them on the scene of victory; the names of their parents and country were jointly celebrated with their own; they were entitled to the first seats at all public entertainments; maintained at the expense of their respective communities; and in their native cities, rewarded not only with monuments and inscriptions, but sometimes with altars and temples. Of these honors and rewards, the appropriated symbols were the olive, the pine, the parsley, and the laurel crowns; which were respectively distributed at the several solemnities of Olympia, the Isthmus, Nemea, and Delphi. Observing the small value of these badges of distinction, without adverting to the solid benefits

which they conferred, the Persian Tigranes would have dissuaded his master from going to war with a people; who, insensible to interest, fought only for glory". But had Tigranes been more completely informed concerning the institutions of Greece, he would have understood, that both interest and glory operated most powerfully upon the candidates for Olympic fame, and not only their personal interests, but those of their friends, their parents, and their country, who, being associated to their honors, were regarded by them with that love and affection which men naturally feel for the objects of their protection and bounty.

In explaining the influence of the Grecian solemnities, we must not forget the musical and poetical exhibitions, which, from being employed to reward the victors in the gymnastic exercises, came to be themselves thought worthy of reward. The martial lessons of Tyrtæus and Callinus admirably conspired with the effects which have already been described, encouraging the firm and manly virtues both by the enthusiasm with which their precepts were conveyed, and by the lively impressions which they gave of those objects for which it is important to contend. The courage depending on blood and nerves is uncertain and transitory in its existence; and even while it exists, may be indifferently employed to purposes beneficial or destructive. It belonged to the martial

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Influence
of the mu-
sical and
poetical
contests.

⁵⁹ The word is *αρετης* in the original; but here means the reward of virtue. Vid. Herodot. l. viii. c. 26.

§ H A P. VI. bards to determine its doubtful nature, to fix and illustrate its genuine motives, and to direct it to the proper objects of its pursuit.

They infused a proper mixture of softness and sensibility into the Grecian character.

The musical entertainments thus strengthened, refined, and exalted the manly principles inspired by all the customs and institutions of that warlike age. But as bravery is a hardy plant that grows in every soil, the most beneficial consequence of the arts consisted in infusing a proper mixture of softness and sensibility into the Grecian character. This is well known to be their effect in every country where they are allowed to flourish*. The Greeks, in a peculiar manner, required their assistance; nor could it have been possible for that people, without the happy influence of the arts, to control the barbarity naturally occasioned by their constant employment in war, the savage cruelty introduced by the practice of domestic servitude, and that unrelenting ferocity of character which seems essentially inherent in the nature of democratical government. Amidst these sources of degeneracy and corruption, the time and application necessary to attain proficiency in the pursuits of genius, habituated the Greeks to gentle amusements and innocent pleasures. The honors and rewards bestowed on the successful candidates for literary fame, engaged them to seek happiness and glory in the peaceful shade of retirement, as well as on the contentious theatre of active life; and the observations and discoveries occasionally

Their effects on moral principle,

“

*Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.*

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suggested by the free communication of sentiment, strengthened and confirmed those happy prejudices which combat on the side of virtue, and enforce the practice of such rules of behaviour as are most useful and agreeable in society.

If the musical and literary entertainments acquired such an happy influence over the moral dispositions of the heart, they produced a still more considerable effect on the intellectual faculties of the mind. It is almost impossible, in the present age, to conceive the full extent of their efficacy in improving the memory, animating the imagination, and correcting the judgment. As to the memory, indeed, there is a period in the progress of society preceding the introduction of writing, when the energies of this faculty have been exerted among many nations with a wonderful degree of force. Even among the barbarous Celtic inhabitants of our own island, the Druids could repeat an incredible number of verses, containing the knowledge of their history, laws, and religion; and a period of twenty years was required to complete the poetical studies of a candidate for the priesthood⁶¹.

But if the Greeks were equalled by other nations in the exercise of the memory, they have always been unrivalled in the delicacy of their taste, and the inimitable charms of their fancy. These excellences, whether originally produced by natural or moral causes, or more probably by a combination

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VI.

and on the
intellectual pow-
ers,

prepared
the Greeks
for their
high at-
tainments
in elo-
quence and
philoso-
phy.

⁶¹ Caesar, de bello Gallico, l. vi.

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CHAP. VI. of both, were, doubtless, extended and improved by emulation and mutual exercise. To this exercise the public solemnities afforded a proper field; and, in the contests of music and poetry, were displayed the opening blossoms of Grecian genius, blossoms which afterwards ripened into those fruits of philosophy and eloquence, that will form the admiration and delight of the last ages of the world.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

State of the Grecian Colonies. — The Ionians flourish in Arts and Arms. — Their Wars with the Lydians. — The Asiatic Greeks subdued by Cræsus. — Splendor of the Lydian Court. — Foundation of the Persian Monarchy. — Causes of its rapid Grandeur — Which alarms Cræsus. — His Alliance with the Lacedæmonians. — He invades the Persian Dominions. — Measures of his Allies. — Cræsus defeated by Cyrus. — End of the Lydian Monarchy.

ABOVE two thousand years have elapsed since it was observed, to the honor of Europe, that a handful of Greeks, having established themselves in Asia and Africa, continually maintained and extended their possessions in those quarters of the world¹. Wherever the spirit of enterprise diffused their settlements, they perceived, it is said, on the slightest comparison, the superiority of their own religion, language, institutions, and manners; and the dignity of their character and sentiments eminently distinguished them from the general mass of nations whose territories they invaded, and whom they justly denominated Barbarians². Yet

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VII.
State of
the Greek
colonies in
Europe
and Afri-
ca.
Olymp.
xx. i.
A. C. 700.

¹ Hippocrat. vol. i. p. 350. Edit. Lugdun. 1763.

² Isocrat. Panegy. passim.

C H A P. these honorable advantages, instead of conciliating
VII. good-will, tended only to exasperate hostility. The northern Greeks were perpetually harassed by the fierce inroads of the Thracians: the southern were endangered by the united strength of Egypt and Lybia. The colonies in Magna Græcia, having easily resisted the rude, though warlike natives of that country, were called to contend with the more formidable power of Carthage. But the consequences of all these wars, which shall be described in due time, extended not beyond the countries in which they first arose. The memorable conflict between the Greek colonies in the East, and the great nations of Asia, forms a subject more vast and more interesting. Not confined to the extremities, it reached and shook the centre of Greece. It recoiled with more destructive violence on Persia; its duration comprehends the most illustrious period in the history of both countries; and its extent embraces all the great nations of antiquity, together with the scattered communities of Grecian extraction in every part of the world.

State of
the Greek
colonies in
Asia.

In the third century after their establishment in the east, and above seven hundred years before the Christian æra, the Greeks of Asia, and particularly the Ionians, far surpassed their European ancestors in splendor and prosperity¹. While ancient Greece was harassed by intestine dissensions, and its northern frontier exposed to the hostility of neighbouring Barbarians, the Eastern colonies

¹ Herodot. passim. Plin. l. v. et Senec. ad Helv.

enjoyed profound peace, and flourished in the vicinity of Phrygia and Lydia, the best cultivated and most wealthy provinces of Lower Asia^{*}, and perhaps of the ancient world. History and poetry alike extol the golden treasures of the Phrygian and Lydian kings[†]. Their subjects wrought mines of gold, melted the ore, moulded figures in bronze, died wool, cultivated music, enjoyed the amusements of leisure, and indulged the demands of luxury[‡], when the neighbouring countries of Cappadocia and Armenia remained equally ignorant of laws and arts, and when the Medes and Persians, destined successively to obtain the empire of Asia, lived in scattered villages, subsisted by hunting, pasturage, or robbery, and were clothed with the skins of wild beasts[§].

Yet the Lydians and Phrygians, satisfied with their domestic advantages, seem never to have directed their attention towards foreign commerce[¶]. When the voluptuousness or ostentation of their kings and nobility made them covet the

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VII.

They engaged the commerce of Lydia, Phrygia, and Egypt.

^{*} Strabo, l. xii. et l. xiii.

[†] Idem, p. 620 et 621. Edit. Paris.

[‡] Herodot. l. i. c. xciv. Plin. l. vi. c. lvi.

[§] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxi.

[¶] The Lydians and Phrygians are mentioned, in Castor's Epochs, among the seventeen nations, who, according to that careless and ignorant compiler, successively became masters of the Mediterranean sea; but the extravagant dreams of this fabulous writer are at variance with the whole tenor of ancient history. It is extraordinary that those who ever looked into Herodotus should pay any regard to the unwarranted assertions of Castor; yet this fabulist has been generally followed by modern chronologers and compilers. See BLAIR'S Tables, &c.

C H A P. conveniences and luxuries of distant countries,
VII. they were contented to owe these new gratifications, first to the Phœnician merchants, and afterwards to the Greek settlements established on their coasts. Through the supine neglect of their neighbours respecting maritime affairs, the Asiatic Greeks acquired without contest, and enjoyed without molestation, besides several valuable islands, the whole western coast of the continent, extending, in a waving line, above six hundred miles in length, beautifully diversified by hill and dale, intersected by rivers, broken by bays and promontories; and adorned by the noblest prospects and finest climate in the world. The face of that delightful country will be more particularly described, when it becomes the unhappy scene of military operations. It is sufficient at present to observe, that its Ionian inhabitants, possessing the mouths of great rivers, having convenient and capacious harbours before them, and behind, the wealthy and populous nations of Asia, whose commerce they enjoyed and engrossed, attained such early and rapid proficiency in the arts of navigation and traffic, as raised the cities of Miletus⁹, Colophon¹⁰, and Phocæa¹¹, to an extraordinary pitch of opulence and grandeur. Their population increasing with their prosperity, they diffused new colonies every where around

⁹ Athenæus, l. xii. p. 523. Comparing their ancient and actual state, the Greek proverb said, Πάλαι ποτε ἦσαν ἀρχαῖοι Μιλήσιοι: Once, but long ago, the Milesians were powerful.

¹⁰ Athen. l. xiv. p. 643.

¹¹ Strabo, p. 532 et p. 647. Herodot. l. iv. c. clii.

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them. Having obtained footing in Egypt ¹², in the eighth century before Christ, they acquired, and thenceforth preserved, the exclusive commerce of that ancient and powerful kingdom. Their territories, though in their greatest breadth compressed between the sea and the dominions of Lydia to the extent of scarce forty miles, became not only flourishing in peace, but formidable in war ¹³, and bore something of a similar relation to the powerful kingdoms of Egypt, Lydia, and Assyria, which had hitherto swayed the politics of the ancient world, that the small but industrious republics of Italy had to the rest of Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; or, to describe their condition still more exactly, that the Netherlands, three hundred years ago, had to the extensive countries of France, England, and Germany.

Such multiplied advantages could not languish in the hands of men, who, as we shall soon learn from their history, had genius to conceive, and courage to execute, the most arduous designs. With the utmost industry and perseverance they improved and ennobled the useful or elegant arts, which they found already practised among the Phrygians and Lydians. They incorporated the music of those nations with their own. Their poetry, as above described, far excelled whatever Pagan antiquity could boast most precious ¹⁴. They

Improved
the arts
which they
had learn-
ed in those
countries.

¹² Herodot. l. ii. c. cxxxii.

¹³ Idem, ibid. et Aristot. de Civitat. l. iv. c. iv.

¹⁴ See Chap. vi.

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C H A P.
VII.

Invent
others pe-
culiar to
them-
selves.

rivalled the skill of their neighbours in moulding clay, and casting brass. They appear to have been the first people who made statues of marble. The Doric and Ionic orders of architecture perpetuate, in their names, the honor of their inventors. Painting was first reduced to rule, and practised with success among the Greeks; and we may be assured that, during the seventh century before Christ, the Ionians surpassed all their neighbours, and even the Phœnicians, in the arts of design, since the magnificent presents which the far-famed oracle of Delphi received from the ostentation or piety of the Lydian kings, were chiefly the productions of Ionian artists¹⁵. In the following century Ionia gave birth to philosophy; and we shall have occasion to explain hereafter by what means both science and taste were diffused from that country over Greece, Italy, and Sicily. But our present subject recalls us from the history of arts to that of arms.

Incurſion
of the
Cimmeri-
ans.

The first formidable enemies with whom the Asiatic Greeks had to contend, were the barbarous Cimmerians¹⁶, who, being driven from the banks of the Euxine, by a Scythian horde still fiercer than themselves, overflowed, with irresistible violence, the finest provinces of Asia Minor. But

¹⁵ Herodot. l. i

¹⁶ Strabo, p. 292, says, that the Cimmerians were called Cimbri by the Romans. He speaks frequently of them, particularly p. 108. 293. 292. 494. Their impetuous and destructive incurſions are well expressed by the elegiac poet Callinus, cited in Strabo, p. 648.

Νυν δ' ἐπὶ Κιμμερίων στρατός ἐρχεται οὐκ ἐμμερῶν.

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the invasion of the Cimmerians is described as a predatory incursion¹⁷, not as a regular plan of enterprise directed to the purposes of conquest and settlement. The hurricane soon spent its force; the Greeks recovered from the terror inspired by these desultory ravagers, and, within a few years after their departure, the Ionian and Eolian colonies, who seem to have carried their ancient enmity into their new acquisitions, totally forgot their recent and common danger, and engaged in cruel domestic wars.

C H A P.
VII.

Domestic
dissen-
sions.

These unnatural dissensions were quieted by the growing power of the Lydians, which extending itself on all sides, finally reduced the greatest part of Lesser Asia, a country once affording the materials of many rich and flourishing kingdoms, but now reduced to beggary and barbarism under the oppressive yoke of Turkish tyranny. The territory of Lydia, which extended its name with its authority from the river Halys to the Ægean, and from the southern shore of the Euxine to the northern coast of the Mediterranean, was anciently confined to that delightful district situate at the back of Ionia, watered on the north by the river Pactolus, famous for the golden particles¹⁸ intermixed with its sand, on the south by Cayster, whose banks, frequented by swans, have afforded one of the most beautiful comparisons in the

interrupt-
ed by the
growth of
the Lydian
power.

¹⁷ Οὐ καταστροφή ἐγένετο τῶν πολλῶν ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῆς.
HERODOT.

¹⁸ They were washed down from Mount Tmolus, the gold of which was exhausted in the time of Strabo. Vid. Strab. l. xlii.

S H A P. Iliad ¹⁹. The kingdom of Lydia was anciently
 VII. subject to a race of princes ²⁰, styled Atyatidæ,
 from the heroic Atys, the great founder of their
 house. To the family of Atys succeeded that of
 Hercules, which had obtained the government be-
 fore the war of Troy, and continued to reign five
 hundred and five years, till their honors expired
 in the unhappy Candaules. The story of Can-
 daules, of his beautiful wife, and of his fortunate
 servant, has been adorned by the father of history
 with the inimitable charms of his Ionic fancy. The
 vain, credulous prince, injudiciously displaying the
 beauty, offended the modesty, of his injured spouse.
 Gyges ²¹, the most favored of her husband's at-
 tendants, to whom his weak master had prostituted
 the sight of her naked charms, was involuntarily
 employed as the instrument of her resentment. As
 a reward for taking away the life of Candaules,
 he was honored with the hand of the queen, and
 from the rank of captain of the guards, advanced
 to the throne of Lydja.

Olymp.

Ev. 3.
 A. C. 718.

Gyges
 makes war
 on the Io-
 nians.

This revolution, which happened seven hundred
 and eighteen years before Christ, was felt by the
 neighbouring nations, who soon discovered in the

¹⁹ Κλυττὴ ἀμείβετο, etc. Iliad. ii. ver. 460. and Pope,
 ver. 440.

²⁰ Herodotus, l. i. throughout, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus,
 l. i. c. 27. et seq. furnish the principal materials for the history of
 Lydja.

²¹ Herodotus was unacquainted with the wonderful story of
 Gyges's ring, which had the power of rendering him invisible; by
 means of which he was enabled to kill his master, and usurp his
 throne. Plato, l. ii. de Repub.

enterprising character of Gyges, the difference between adventurers who acquire, and princes who inherit, a crown. The Ionian cities of Asia offered a tempting prize to the valor of Gyges, and the valuable mines ²² discovered between the cities Atarneus and Pergamos, as well as the gold obtained from the river Pactolus ²³, enabled him to hire such a number of troops as seemed necessary to accomplish his ambitious designs. The citizens of Miletus and Smyrna were harassed by a long war; but of all the Ionic settlements, Colophon alone submitted to his arms.

Ardys his successor, following the military example of Gyges, stormed the city of Priéné, and invaded the territories of the Milesians. He transmitted his enmity against that people to his son Sadyattes, from whom it descended to his more warlike grandson. Alyattes, grandson of Ardys, annually invaded the country of Miletus, cut down the trees, burnt the standing corn, ravaged and desolated the whole territory. The houses he allowed to remain entire, that the Milesians, governed by that powerful attachment which binds men to their ancient habitations, might return thither after his departure, and again apply to the sowing and cultivation of the ground, the fruits of which he was determined next harvest

C H A P.

VII.

Takes Colophon.
Olymp.
xxv. 1.
A. C. 680.

The war continued by his successors.
Olymp.
xl. 2.
A. C. 619.

²² Strabo, l. xiii. p. 625.

²³ Strabo, p. 680. The wealth of Gyges was proverbial in the time of Anacreon:

Οὐ μὲν μέλει Γυγᾶς
Τῆ Σαρδίων ἀνκτες, etc.

C H A P. to destroy. In this manner he continued, during
 VII. eleven years, to harass, but was unable to conquer
 the Milesians. The inhabitants of the country
 retired at his approach, and shut themselves up in
 their capital, the walls of which bid defiance to his
 assaults; nor was it possible to reduce by blockade
 a city that had long been, and still continued
 mistress of the sea. But Alyattes persisted in dis-
 tressing those whom it seemed impossible to subdue;
 and he was carrying on his twelfth autumnal in-
 cursion with fire and sword, when an unforeseen
 accident occasioned a speedy termination of the
 war.

An un-
 foreseen
 event puts
 an end to
 the war.
 Olymp.
 xliiii. 2.
 A. C. 607.

The beautiful territory of Miletus was, accord-
 ing to annual custom, thrown into a blaze, and the
 flames of the standing corn, impelled by the vio-
 lence of the wind, communicated with the temple
 of Assesian Minerva. That sacred edifice was
 burnt to the ground. Alyattes, who was attended
 on his march by pipes, harps, and flutes, adapted
 to the voice both of men and of women, did not
 immediately consider, amidst the noise of festivity,
 and the parade of military triumph, the fatal con-
 sequences of this enormous impiety. But sicken-
 ing soon after at Sardis, he had leisure, during the
 quiet and solitude of his distemper, to reflect on
 the horror of his crime; and prying into futurity
 with that anxious solicitude which usually attends
 guilt, he dispatched messengers to the temple of
 Delphi, to consult the Grecian god concerning the
 means of mitigating the distress of his present state
 of mind. Apollo refused giving an answer to

his petition, until he had rebuilt the temple of Minerva. The Lydian prepared to comply with this condition, and immediately sent ambassadors to Miletus, to propose a suspension of arms, until the great work should be completed. That city was then governed by Thrasybulus; who, by one of those revolutions not unfrequent in the Grecian republics, had attained the rank of tyrant²⁴, as it was then called, in a state usually governed as a democratical community. Similarity of views and dispositions had introduced a friendly connection between Thrasybulus and the celebrated Periander of Corinth, who was no sooner acquainted with the advice of Apollo, than he sent immediate intimation of it to the Milesian prince, counselling him at the same time to avail himself of the present conjuncture to promote the interest of his country. In compliance with this advice, Thrasybulus employed an expedient equally singular and successful. When the Lydian ambassadors arrived at Miletus, they expected to behold a city in distress, not only destitute of the accommodations and luxuries, but ill provided with the chief necessaries of life. But their surprise was extreme, to observe vast magazines of corn open to public view, to perceive an extraordinary abundance of

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VII.

²⁴ In the strict sense, τυραννος means him who has acquired sovereignty in a free republic. The word has no relation to the abuse of power, as in the modern acceptation. Thrasybulus of Miletus, Periander of Corinth, Pisistratus of Athens, Polycrates of Samos, Alexander of Pheræ, and Dionysius of Syracuse, were all called τυραννοι, though their characters were as widely different as those of Titus and Domitian, the extremes of virtue and vice.

CHAP. all the other fruits of the ground; and to behold
VII. the inhabitants revelling in fulness and festivity, as if their country had never suffered the cruel ravages of an invader. This appearance of ease and plenty was exhibited by the contrivance of Thrasybulus, by whose command the corn and other provisions had been carried from private magazines into the street, that the Lydians, returning to Sardis, the usual residence of their prince, might acquaint him with the prosperous condition of a people, whom it had been the great object of his reign to afflict and to annoy. Alyattes was much affected by the intelligence, and at length consented to a peace with the Milesians on honorable terms. To compensate for his past injuries and impiety, he promised to dedicate to Minerva two new edifices, the magnificence of which should far eclipse the splendor of her ancient temple. The promise was performed, the new temples were consecrated, Alyattes recovered from his distemper, and peace subsisted for a short time between the two nations.

Happy
 reign of
 Alyattes.

The long reign of Alyattes, which, if we may credit the doubtful evidence of ancient authors in matters of chronology, lasted fifty-two years after the treaty with Miletus, was not chequered with any great variety of fortune. He conquered, indeed, the city and small territory of Smyrna, a Grecian settlement then in its infancy, but which was destined afterwards to become, by its happy situation for commerce, the most wealthy and populous establishment in those parts, and to be

styled, in the pompous language of inscription, the ornament of Ionia, the first and chief city of the Asiatic coast²⁵. His arms were equally successful in repelling the destructive invasions of the Scythian hordes, who ravaged the northern parts of his dominions, and in resisting the dangerous ambition of the Medes, the most powerful nation of Upper Asia. Satisfied with these advantages, Alyattes became unwilling to commit his future fortune to the vicissitudes of war. Fixed in this purpose, he spent his remaining days amidst the happiness of his wealth and grandeur, in contemplating the various stages of his prosperity, in listening to the flattery of his courtiers, in receiving the grateful homage of his subjects, and in enjoying that pomp and pleasure which usually surround an eastern throne.

This fortunate prince was succeeded, five hundred and sixty-two years before Christ, by his son Cræsus, whose uninterrupted prosperity, in the first years of his reign, far eclipsed the glory of all his predecessors. But the splendor of Cræsus was that of a passing meteor, which dazzles for a moment, and disappears for ever. Of all the kings of Lydia, he was the greatest conqueror, but he was also the last king of that country²⁶, as well as the last prince of his family. Under various unjust pretences he attacked the Grecian cities of Asia Minor, which being undisturbed by foreign war,

C H A P.
VII.

The war
renewed
by Croesus.
Olymp.
liv. 3.
A. C. 562.

²⁵ Marm. Oxon.

²⁶ Lydia descended to the rank of a province, as will appear below.

C H A P. VII. had unfortunately engaged in domestic dissensions. While jealousy hindered the Greeks, ignorance prevented the barbarians, from forming a confederacy sufficient to resist the Lydian power. The Carians, Mysians, and Phrygians, fighting singly, were successively subdued; and the whole peninsula of Lesser Asia (excepting only the little territory of the Lycians and Cilicians), extending eastward as far as the river Halys, and inhabited by three nations of Grecian, and eleven of barbarian extraction²⁷, finally acknowledged the power of Cræsus, and tamely received his commands.

who subdues the Asiatic Greeks, as well as the neighbouring nations.

He is diverted from his design of raising a naval power.

Having met with such extraordinary success by land, the Lydian prince determined to render his power equally conspicuous by sea. For this purpose he thought seriously of equipping a fleet, with which he purposed to invade and conquer the Grecian islands directly fronting his dominions. But this design, which, considering the slow progress in maritime power among the nations most diligent to attain it, would probably have failed of success, was prevented by the advice of a philosophical traveller, conveyed in such a lively turn of wit, as easily changed the resolution of the king. Bias of Priené, in Ionia, some say Pittacus of Mitylene, in the isle of Lesbos, while he travelled, after the Grecian custom, from curiosity and a love of knowledge, was presented to Cræsus at the Lydian court; and being asked by that prince,

²⁷ The Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybians, Lydians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Bithynians, Carians, and Pamphylians.

what news from Greece ? he answered with a republican freedom , that the islanders had collected powerful squadrons of cavalry , with an intention of invading Lydia. " May the gods grant," said Cræsus , " that the Greeks , who are unacquainted with horsemanship , should attack the disciplined valor of the Lydian cavalry ; there would soon be an end to the contest." " In the same manner," replied Bias , " as if the Lydians , who are totally unexperienced in naval affairs , should invade the Grecians by sea." Struck by the acuteness of this unexpected observation , Cræsus desisted from his intended expedition against the islands ; and instead of employing new means for extending his conquests , determined peaceably to enjoy the laurels which he had won , and to display the grandeur which he had attained.

His court was the gayest and most splendid of any in that age ; and the Asiatic Greeks , whatever dishonor they incurred , sustained not , perhaps , any real loss by their easy submission to a vain and weak man , but a magnificent and liberal prince²² , who was extremely partial to their country. They acknowledged the conqueror , indeed , by a very moderate tribute , but they enjoyed their ancient

The splendor of Cræsus's court.

²² Such is the character which results from considering the conduct of Cræsus. The transactions of his reign will not warrant our adopting the admirable panegyric of him by Pindar (Pyth. l.):

Ου φιδωει Κροισου Φιλοφρων αετιη , etc.

He was taught wisdom late , and only by adversity.

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C H A P. laws, and administered without control their domestic concerns and government". Cræsus spoke their language, encouraged their arts, admired their poets and *sophists*. Ionia, perhaps, was¹⁹ never more happy than under the eye of this indulgent master, whose protection nourished the tender shoot of philosophy, which had begun to spring up shortly before his reign. Thales of Miletus, Pittacus of Mitylene, Bias of Priené, Cleobulus of Lindus, and the other wise men, as they are emphatically styled, who lived in that age, not only gave advice and assistance to their countrymen in particular emergencies, but restrained their vices by wholesome laws, improved their manners by useful lessons of morality, and extended their knowledge by important and difficult discoveries. We shall have occasion hereafter to consider more fully the improvements made by those ancient sages, who are said to have maintained a correspondence with each other, as well as with Chilon of Sparta, Periander of Corinth, and Solon of Athens, men who acquired such reputation by their practical wisdom, as rendered them the oracles of their respective countries. Most of these, as well as Æsop the fabulist, and the elegant Greek poets of the times, were bountifully received at the court of Cræsus. There is still on record a memorable conversation between that prince and Solon, which seemed to predict the subsequent events of his reign, and which had a late, but important influence on the character and fortune of the Lydian king.

Condition
of the
Asiatic
Greeks
under his
govern-
ment.

¹⁹ Herodot.

²⁰ Thucyd.

Cræsus

Cræsus having entertained his Athenian guest, according to the ancient fashion, for several days, before he asked him any questions, ostentatiously showed him the magnificence of his palace, and particularly the riches of his treasury. After all had been displayed to the best advantage, the king complimented Solon upon his curiosity and love of knowledge; and asked him, as a man who had seen many countries, and reflected with much judgment upon what he had seen, whom of all men he esteemed most happy? By the particular occasion, as well as the triumphant air with which the question was proposed, the king made it evident that he expected flattery rather than information. But Solon's character had not been enervated by the debilitating air of a court, and he replied with a manly freedom, "Tellus, the Athenian." Cræsus, who had scarcely learned to distinguish, even in imagination, between wealth and happiness, inquired with a tone of surprise, why this preference to Tellus? "Tellus," rejoined Solon, "was not conspicuous for his riches, or his grandeur, being only a simple citizen of Athens; but he was descended from parents who deserved the first honors of the republic. He was equally fortunate in his children, who obtained universal esteem by their probity, patriotism, and every useful quality of the mind or body; and as to himself, he died fighting gallantly in the service of his country, which his valor rendered victorious in a doubtful combat; on which account the Athenians buried him on the spot where he fell, and

ON A P.

VII.

His conversation with Solon.

C H A P. distinguished him by every honor which public
VII. gratitude can confer on illustrious merit."

Cræsus had little encouragement, after this answer, to ask Solon, in the second place, whom, next to Tellus, he deemed most happy? Such, however, is the illusion of vanity, that he still ventured to make this demand, and still, as we are informed by the most circumstantial of historians, entertained hopes of being favorably answered. But Solon replied with the same freedom as before, "The brothers Cleobis and Biton; two youths of Argos, whose strength and address were crowned with repeated victory at the Olympic games; who deserved the affection of their parents; the gratitude of their country, the admiration of Greece; and who, having ended their lives with peculiar felicity", were commemorated by the most signal monuments of immortal fame."

"And is the happiness of a king, then," said Cræsus, "so little regarded, O Grecian stranger! that you prefer to it the mean condition of an Athenian or Argive citizen?" The reply of Solon sufficiently justified his reputation for wisdom. "The life of man," said he, "consists of seventy years, which make twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty days; an immense number, yet in the longest life, the events of any one day will not be found exactly alike to those of another. The affairs of men are liable to perpetual vicissitudes; the Divinity who presides over our fate is envious

¹¹ Τέλειον τε τις οὐκ ἐπὶ φρονίμῳ. Herodot. l. i. c. 81.

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of too much prosperity; and all human life, if not condemned to calamity, is at least liable to accident". Whoever has uninterruptedly enjoyed a prosperous tide of success may justly be called fortunate: But he cannot before his death be entitled to the epithet of happy."

The events which soon followed this conversation, prove how little satisfaction is derived from the possession of a throne. Victorious in war, unrivalled in wealth, supreme in power, Cræsus felt and acknowledged his unhappiness. The warmest affections of his soul centred in his son Atys, a youth of the most promising hopes, who had often fought and conquered by his side. The strength of his attachment was accompanied with an excess of paternal care, and the anxiety of his waking hours disturbed the tranquillity of his rest. He dreamt that his beloved son was slain by a dart; and the solicitude with which he watched his safety, preventing the youth from his usual occupations and amusements, and thereby rendering him too eager to enjoy them, most probably exposed him to the much-dreaded misfortune. Reluctantly permitted to engage in a party of hunting, the juvenile ardor of Atys, increased by the impatience of long restraint, made him neglect the precautions necessary in that manly amusement. He was slain by a dart, aimed at a wild boar of monstrous size, which had long spread terror over the

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VII.

Cræsus affected by the loss of his son Atys.

⁵² Οὐτως ὡς Κροίσος πρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, συνέβη. The last word is improperly explained in all the translations that I have met with.

C H A P. country of the Mysians. The weapon came from the
 VII. hand of Adrastus, a Phrygian prince and fugitive,
 whom Cræsus had purified from the involuntary
 guilt of a brother's blood, and long distinguished
 by peculiar marks of bounty. To the grateful
 protection of the Phrygian, Cræsus recommended,
 at parting, the safety of his beloved son. A
 mournful procession of Lydians brought to Sardis
 the dead body of Atys. The ill-fated murderer
 followed behind. When they approached the royal
 presence, Adrastus stepped forward, and entreated
 Cræsus to put him to death; thinking life no
 longer to be endured after killing, first his own
 brother, and then the son of his benefactor. But
 the Lydian king, notwithstanding the excess of his
 affliction, acknowledged the innocence of Adrastus,
 and the power of fate. "Stranger, your action
 is blameless, being committed without design.
 I know that my son was destined to a premature
 death." Adrastus, though pardoned by Cræsus,
 could not pardon himself. When the mourners
 were removed, he privately returned, and perished
 by his own hand on the tomb of Atys.

Roused
 from his
 inactivity
 by the
 growing
 power of
 Persia.

Two years Cræsus remained disconsolate for the
 loss of his son, and might have continued to in-
 dulse his unavailing affliction during the remainder
 of life, had not the growing greatness of Persia,
 which threatened the safety of his dominions, roused
 him from his dream of misery. That country was
 anciently confined to a small part of the immense
 region at present known by the Persian name. Its
 inhabitants had recently become formidable, and,

in the course of a few years, under the elder Cyrus, they extended their name and conquests over Upper Asia, overturned the power of Cræsus, enslaved the Greeks of Asia Minor, and, for the first time, threatened Europe with the terrors of Asiatic despotism. This memorable revolution deserves not only to be examined in its consequences, but traced to its source, because the Grecian wars and transactions, during the space of above two centuries, with the Persian empire, form an important object of attention in the present history.

The first Assyrian monarchy extended its dominion in Upper Asia, from the northern deserts of Scythia, to the Southern or Indian Ocean. On the west it was separated by the river Halys from the dominions of Lydia. The river Indus formed its eastern boundary. The conquerors of the east have assumed, in all ages, the title of King of Kings; a title expressive of the nature, as well as of the greatness of their power. The various provinces which they conquered, though acknowledging their universal dependence on the emperor, were yet subject to their particular princes, who, while they paid their appointed tribute during peace, and furnished their contingent of troops in time of war, were permitted, in their ancient territories, to retain the power, and to display the pomp of royalty. This system of government is more favorable to the extension than to the permanence of empire. The different members of this unwieldy body were so feebly connected with each other, that to secure their united submission

The revolutions in Upper Asia, till the establishment of the Persian empire.

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C H A P. VII, required almost as much genius as to atchieve their conquest. When the spirit which animated the immense mass was withdrawn, the different parts fell asunder ; revolutions were no less rapid than frequent ; and, by one of those events familiar in the history of the East, the warlike sceptre of Ninus and Semiramis was wrested from the effeminate hands of Sardanapulus. In the year seven hundred and forty-six before Christ, the provincial governors of Babylonia and Media, disdaining to receive orders from this enervated shadow of their ancient lords, rejected his contemptible authority, and established two new dynasties, which, having governed Asia for two centuries, were again reunited by the fortunate valor of Cyrus.

Extraction
of Cyrus.

This extraordinary man, who raised the Persian glory on the ruins of the Medes and Babylonians, was the son of Cambyfes, the tributary prince of Persia: On the mother's side he derived a more honorable descent from Mandana, daughter of Aftyages, the supreme lord of Media, and many kingdoms of the East. The powerful monarchy erected by Cyrus was distinguished by the name of his native province, as the preceding empires had been denominated after the provinces of their respective conquerors, although all of them, comprehending the same nations, were bounded by nearly the same limits, Cyrus alone having extended his empire to the Grecian sea.

Descrip-
tion of
Persia.

The territory of Persia, to the name of which we allude, is situated on the southern frontiers of Media, and reaches to the Persian gulph. The

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mountainous nature of the country renders it im-
proper for cavalry; but it formerly produced a
bold and hardy race of men, who, uncorrupted by
the effeminacy of the Asiatic plains, required only
the directing genius of a commander to conduct
them to war and victory. Such a commander
they found in Cyrus, whose mind, bursting through
the shackles imposed on virtues and abilities by
the manners and climate of the East¹¹, extended
the name and conquests of Persia from the Tigris
to the Indus, and from the Caspian Sea to the
Ocean; a name which, after the revolution of so
many ages and empires, is still retained by that
spacious region of the earth.

As it is natural to account, by extraordinary
causes, for extraordinary events, historians have
ascribed institutions and customs to the Persians
worthy of rendering them the masters of the
world. The philosophical Xenophon, embellishing
and disguising with wonderful art the most ad-
mired, and the most admirable, branches of Gre-
cian discipline, has bestowed them with too lavish
a generosity on the founders of a nation, who be-
came the unrelenting enemies of his country. But,
notwithstanding all the refinements of his ingenious
and well-cultivated invention, it is not impossible
to see through the labored artifice of the disguise;
and, as truth only is consistent, we may discern
very material contradictions in the only remaining
accounts of the ancient manners of the Persians.

C H A P.
VII.

The early
institu-
tions of
that coun-
try embel-
lished by
ancient
historians.

¹¹ See his panegyric in Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, and in Æschylus's
Persæ.

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C H. A P.

VII.

Real causes
of the Per-
sian gran-
deur.

Their early education consisted, if we may credit both Xenophon and Herodotus, in learning to manage the horse, to shoot with the bow, and to speak truth. Yet it is necessary to observe that the first of those arts, how well soever it might be understood in latter times by the Persian nobility, must have been very little known to their ancestors in the time of Cyrus. The craggy mountains which they inhabited were unfavorable to the rearing of horses, and the poverty of their circumstances was ill adapted to maintain them. While all the other nations of Upper Asia, except the Scythians, fought on horseback, the Persian armies were composed chiefly of infantry. And when it is considered, that the Grecians under Alexander, the Romans under the republic, as well as the northern barbarians who over-ran and subdued the countries of the east and west, became masters of the world chiefly through the firm intrepidity of their infantry, there is reason to assign, as the main cause of the Persian conquests, not their acquaintance with horsemanship, but rather their ignorance of that art, which obliged them to employ the determined valor of foot-soldiers against the desultory assaults of horsemen. The Persians were commonly armed with swords and lances, instead of bows and darts, the usual weapons of the people of Asia. This distinction was occasioned by their want of cavalry. While their neighbours, trusting to the mettle and swiftness of their steeds, employed the harmless efforts of distant hostility, the Persians fought hand to hand, each man buckling

closely to his foe. If defeated, they had no means of escape; but it was not to be expected that, practising such a superior style of war, under the conduct of an accomplished general, they should ever meet with a defeat; and indeed Cyrus always proved victorious over the civilized nations of Asia; nor was the career of his triumph interrupted, till contending against the barbarous Scythians, who joined the Persian arms and discipline to their own irresistible fury, he lost at once his army and his life¹⁴.

But before experiencing this fatal reverse of fortune, he was destined, in the course of thirty years, to act a distinguished part on the theatre of the world, which long retained the marks, and will always preserve the memory of his reign. Among the first conquests of Cyrus were the territories of Armenia and Chaldea, which had openly revolted against established authority. If we believe Xenophon, Cyrus was sent against these rebellious countries as the lieutenant of his grandfather Astyages, who from his palace in Ecbatan diffused his sovereign mandates over many provinces of Upper Asia. The relation of Herodotus makes it probable, that Cyrus had before this time assumed the government of Media, over which the cruelty, injustice, and superstitious fears of Astyages, rendered him unworthy to reign, even in the opinion of his most trusty subjects.

¹⁴ In the history of Cyrus, the plain relation of Herodotus is to be preferred to the moral embellishments of Xenophon, except when the accounts of the latter are confirmed by the authority of scripture.

C H A P.
VII.

The reign
of Cyrus.
A. C. 559.
— 429.
His first
conquests.

C H A P.

VIL

Which
alarm
Cræsus
Olymp.
lvi. 4.
A. C. 549.

Cræsus
consults
the oracle
of Delphi.

However that may be (for it affects not the design of the present narrative, it was natural to expect that the Persian success in Armenia, a province situate so near to the Lydian dominions; should alarm the fears of Cræsus, and determine that prince to resist the encroachments of a power which endangered the permanence of his own. In taking this resolution, which might probably be attended with the most important consequences, he was desirous to learn the will of heaven concerning the issue of the war. The principal oracles which he consulted were those of Branchis in Ionia, of Hammon in Libya, and of Delphi in Greece. Among these respected shrines, the oracle of Delphi maintained its ascendant, as the most faithful interpreter of fate. Cræsus was fully persuaded of its veracity; and desirous generously to compensate for the trouble which he had already given, and still meant to give, the priests of Apollo, he sacrificed three thousand oxen to the god, and adorned his shrine with dedications, equally valuable for the workmanship and for the materials; precious vessels of silver, ewers of iron beautifully inlaid and enamelled; various ornaments of pure gold, particularly a golden lion, weighing ten talents, and a female figure, three cubits, or near five feet high. In return for these magnificent presents, the oracle, in ambiguous language, flattered Cræsus, with obtaining an easy victory over his enemies, and with enjoying a long life and a prosperous reign. The god at the same time enjoined him to contract an alliance with the most powerful of the Grecian states.

Elevated with these favorable predictions of Apollo, Cræsus prepared to yield a ready obedience to the only condition required on his part, for the accomplishment of his aspiring purpose. Not deeming himself sufficiently acquainted with the affairs of Greece, to know what particular republic was meant by the oracle, he made particular inquiry of those best informed concerning the state of Europe; and discovered, that among all the members of the Grecian confederacy, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were justly entitled to the pre-eminence. In order to learn which of these communities deserved the epithet of most powerful, it was necessary to send ambassadors into Greece. The Lydians dispatched with this important commission soon discovered that the Athenians, after having been long harassed by internal dissensions, were actually governed by the tyrant Pisistratus. The Spartans, on the other hand, though anciently the worst-regulated of all the Grecian communities, had enjoyed domestic peace and foreign prosperity, ever since they had adopted the wise institutions of Lycurgus. After that memorable period, they had repeatedly conquered the warlike Argives, triumphed over the hardy Arcadians, and, notwithstanding the heroic exploits of Aristomenes, subdued and enslaved their unfortunate rivals of Messenê. To the Lydian ambassadors, therefore, the Spartan republic appeared to be pointed out by the oracle, as the community whose alliance they were enjoined to solicit. Having repaired accordingly to Sparta,

O M A P.

VII.

Enters into an alliance with the Lacedæmonians.
Olymp.
lviii. 1.
A. C. 548.

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C H A P. they were introduced not only to the kings and senate, but, as the importance of the negotiation required, to the general assembly of the Lacedæmonians, to whom they, in few words, declared the object of their commission: "We are sent, O Lacedæmonians! by Cræsus, king of the Lydians and of many other nations, who being commanded by the oracle of Apollo to seek the friendship of the most powerful people of Greece, now summons you, who justly merit that epithet, to become his faithful allies, in obedience to the will of the god whose authority you acknowledge." The Lacedæmonians, pleased with the alliance of a warlike king, and still more with the fame of their valor, readily accepted the proposal. To the strict connexion of an offensive and defensive league, they joined the more respected ties of sacred hospitality. A few years before this transaction, they had sent to purchase gold at Sardis, for making a statue of Apollo. Cræsus had on that occasion gratuitously supplied their want. Remembering this generosity, they gave the Lydian ambassadors, at their departure, as a present for their master, a vessel of brass, containing three hundred amphoras (above twelve hogheads), and beautifully carved on the outside with various forms of animals.

His flattering prospects.

Cræsus, having thus happily accomplished the design recommended by the oracle, was eager to set out upon his intended expedition. He had formerly entered into alliance with Amasis, king of Egypt, and Labynetus, king of Babylon. He had

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now obtained the friendship of the most warlike nation of Europe. The newly-raised power of Cyrus and the Persians seemed incapable of resisting such a formidable confederacy.

Elevated with these flattering ideas of his own invincible greatness, Cræsus waited not to attack the Persian dominions until he had collected the strength of his allies. The sanguine impetuosity of his temper, unexperienced in adversity, unfortunately precipitated him into measures no less ruinous than daring. Attended only by the arms of Lydia, and a numerous band of mercenaries, whom his immense wealth enabled him at any time to call into his service, he marched towards the river Halys, and having crossed, with much difficulty, that deep and broad stream, entered the province of Cappadocia, which formed the western frontier of the Median dominions. That unfortunate country soon experienced all the calamities of invasion. The Pterian plain, the most beautiful and the most fertile district of Cappadocia was laid waste; the ports of the Euxine, as well as several inland cities, were plundered; and the inoffensive inhabitants were either put to the sword, or dragged into captivity. Encouraged by the unresisting softness of the natives of those parts, Cræsus was eager to push forwards; and if Cyrus did not previously meet him in the field, he had determined to proceed in triumph to the mountains of Persia. Against this dangerous resolution he was in vain exhorted by a Lydian, named Sandanis, who, when asked his opinion of the

C H A P.

VII.

He invades
the Persian
territories.
Olymp.
lviii. 1.
A. C. 548.

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C H A P. VII. war, declared it with that freedom which the princes of the East have in every age permitted, amidst all the pride and caprices of despotic power, to men distinguished by the gifts of nature or education. "You are preparing, O king, to march against a people who lead a laborious and a miserable life; whose daily subsistence is often denied them, and is always scanty and precarious; who drink only water, and who are clothed with the skins of wild beasts. What can the Lydians gain by the conquest of Persia; they who enjoy all the advantages of which the Persians are destitute? For my part, I deem it a blessing of the gods, that they have not excited the warlike poverty of these miserable barbarians to invade and plunder the luxurious wealth of Lydia." The moderation of this advice was rejected by the fatal presumption of Cræsus, who confounding the dictates of experienced wisdom with the mean suggestions of pusillanimity, dismissed the counsellor with contempt.

Ys defeated
by Cyrus
in Cappa-
docia.

Meanwhile, the approach of Cyrus, who was not of a temper to permit his dominions to be ravaged with impunity, afforded the Lydian king an opportunity of bringing the war to a more speedy issue, than by his intended expedition into Persia. The army of Cyrus gradually augmented on his march, the tributary princes cheerfully contributing with their united strength towards the assistance of a master whose valor and generosity they admired, and who now took arms to protect

⁸⁵ Herodot. l. i. c. lxxi.

the safety of his subjects, as well as to support the grandeur of his throne. Such was the rapidity of his movement, especially after being informed of the destructive ravages of the enemy in Cappadocia, that he arrived from the shores of the Caspian to those of the Euxine Sea, before the army of Cræsus had provided the necessaries for their journey. That prince, when apprized of the neighbourhood of the Persians, encamped on the Pterian plain; Cyrus likewise encamped at no great distance; frequent skirmishes happened between the light troops; and at length a general engagement was fought with equal fury and perseverance, and only terminated by the darkness of night. The loss on both sides hindered a renewal of the battle. The numbers, as well as the courage of the Persians, much exceeded the expectation of Cræsus. As they discovered not any intention to harass his retreat, he determined to move back towards Sardis, to spend the winter in the amusements of his palace, and after summoning his numerous allies to his standard, to take the field early in the spring, with such an increase of force as seemed sufficient to overpower the Persians."

But this design was defeated by the careful vigilance of Cyrus. That experienced leader allowed the enemy to retire without molestation; carefully informing himself of every step which they took, and of every measure which they seemed

The prudent conduct of Cyrus.

" Herodot. l. i. c. lxxvii.

H A P. determined to pursue. Patiently watching the
 VII. opportunity of a just revenge, he waited until
 Cræsus had re-entered his capital, and had dis-
 banded the foreign mercenaries, who composed
 the most numerous division of his army. It then
 seemed the proper time for Cyrus to put his Per-
 sians in motion; and such was his celerity, that he
 brought the first news of his own arrival in the
 plain of Sardis ¹⁷. Cræsus, whose firmness might
 well have been shaken by the imminence of this
 unforeseen danger, was not wanting, on the present
 occasion, to the duties which he owed to his own
 fame, and the lustre of the Lydian throne.
 Though his mercenaries were disbanded, his own
 subjects, who served him from attachment, who
 had been long accustomed to victory, and who
 were animated with a high sense of national ho-
 nor, burned with a desire of enjoying an oppor-
 tunity to check the daring insolence of the in-
 vaders. Cræsus indulged and encouraged this
 generous ardor. The Lydians, in that age,
 fought on horseback, armed with long spears; the
 strength of the Persians consisted in infantry. They
 were so little accustomed to the use of horses, that
 camels were almost the only animals which they
 employed as beasts of burden. This circumstance
 suggested to a Mede, by name Harpagus, a stra-
 tagem, which, being communicated to Cyrus,
 was immediately adopted with approbation by that

¹⁷ Αυτὸς ἀγγελεῖς Κροίσῳ ἐληλυθεῖ. He came his own messenger
 to Cræsus.

prince.

prince¹¹. Harpagus, having observed that horses had a strong aversion to the shape and smell of camels, advised the Persian army to be drawn up in the following order: All the camels, which had been employed to carry baggage and provisions, were collected into one body, arranged in a long line, fronting the Lydian cavalry. The foot-soldiers of the Persians were posted immediately behind the line, and placed at a due distance. The Median horse (for a few squadrons of these followed the standard of Cyrus) formed the rear of the army. As the troops on both sides approached to join battle, the Lydian cavalry, terrified at the unusual appearance of the camels, mounted with men in arms, were thrown into disorder, and turning their heads, endeavoured to escape from the field. Cræsus, who perceived the confusion, was ready to despair of his fortune; but the Lydians, abandoning their horses, prepared with uncommon bravery to attack the enemy on foot. Their courage deserved a better fate; but unaccustomed as they were to this mode of fighting, they were received and repelled by the experienced valor of the Persian infantry, and obliged to take refuge within the fortified strength of Sardis, where they imagined themselves secure. The walls of that city bid defiance to the rude art of attack, as then practised by the most warlike nations. If the Persian army should invest it, the Lydians were

C H A P.
VII,

Defeats
Cræsus in
the plain
of Sardis.

Cræsus
shuts him-
self up in
that city,
and craves
assistance
from his
Spartan
allies.

¹¹ Herodot. l. i. c. lxxx.

● H A P provided with provisions for several years; and
 VII. there was reason to expect, that in a few months, and even weeks, they would receive such assistance from Egypt, Babylonia, and Greece (to which countries they had already sent ambassadors), as would oblige the Persians to raise the siege."

State of
 Sparta at
 that time.

The Lydian ministers dispatched into Greece met with great sympathy from the Spartans. That people were particularly observant of the faith of treaties; and while they punished their enemies with unexampled severity, they behaved with generous compassion towards those whom they had once accepted for allies. The benevolent principles of their nature were actually warmed and elevated by the triumph of a successful expedition against the most formidable of their domestic foes. They had maintained a long and bloody war with the Argives, for the small, but valuable district of Thyrea, lying on the frontiers of the rival states. The Spartans at length obtained possession of it; but the Argives advanced with an army more powerful than any that they had ever led into the field, in order to make good their ancient pretensions. The wars of the Greeks were not merely undertaken from the dictates of interest and ambition, but considered as trials of skill, and contests of honor. When a conference, therefore, was proposed, we know not by which of the parties, it was agreed, in order to prevent a greater effusion of blood, that three hundred combatants on the

" Herodot. I. l. c. lxxx.

Spartan, and an equal number on the Argive side, C. H. A. P.
 should determine, by the success of their arms, VII.
 the disputed title to Thyrea, as well as the warlike
 pre-eminence of their respective republics. Three
 hundred champions being selected for this purpose
 from either army, it seemed necessary that the
 remainder of both nations should retire; for the
 Argive and Spartan citizens, who felt with a re-
 publican sensibility for the interest of their com-
 munities, could not have remained tame spectators
 of the battle. The combatants fought with an
 obstinate valor, of which there are few examples
 in history. Each soldier behaved as if the success
 of the day had been committed to his single spear;
 and each was eager to sacrifice his own life to the
 preservation of his country's fame. These gene-
 rous sentiments were fully proved by the issue of
 the battle. At the approach of night, only three
 combatants survived, two Argives, and the Spar-
 tan Othryades. The Argives, either through
 neglect or pity, spared the life of their single op-
 ponent, and returned home with the melancholy
 tidings of their bloody victory. Othryades still
 kept the field, collecting the spoil, and carrying
 into his own camp the arms of the enemy, which
 he erected into the usual trophy of military success.
 Next day the two armies, consisting of a great
 proportion of the citizens capable of bearing arms,
 arrived at the scene of action. The surprise of
 the Argives is not to be expressed, when they saw
 the appearance of the field. Notwithstanding the
 Spartan trophy, they still insisted, that as two of

Their vic-
 tories over
 the At-
 gives.

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C H A P. VII. their champions, and only *one* of the enemy's, had survived, they were justly entitled to the glory of the day; but, seemingly with more reason, the Spartans maintained that this honor belonged to Othryades. From verbal altercation, carried on with that warmth which the importance of the dispute naturally inspired, they made an easy transition to acts of violence *. The conflict was long, fierce, and bloody; but the superior discipline of Sparta finally prevailed. The Argives lamented their defeat, as the greatest calamity that had ever befallen them. The inward feelings of their hearts were expressed by external demonstrations of sorrow. Like most of the Grecian nations, they had hitherto adorned their long hair, to increase the gracefulness of manly beauty, and to render their appearance more terrible to their enemies. But in remembrance of this disaster, they shaved their heads **, deprived the Argive women of their golden ornaments, and bound themselves by a dreadful imprecation never more to assume their

* Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxii.

** At funerals, the Greeks cut off their hair, to be consumed in the funeral pile with the bodies of their friends. Thus, at the interment of Patroclus, Achilles

Στας ἀπανευθε πυρὸς ξάνην ἀπεκείρατο χαιτήν
Τὴν γὰρ Σπερχειῶ ποταμῷ τρεφε τηλεθώσαν.

In the *Orestes* of Euripides, Helen is blamed for sparing her locks, and cutting off only the ends. "She is," says Electra, "ἡ παλαιή γυνή, the same coquette as ever." Lyfias, speaking of a great national calamity, says metaphorically, "It becomes Greece to shave her head." Lyfias, *Orat. Funeb.* The Argives, as a community, realized the metaphor.

wonted appearance, until they had recovered possession of Thyrea. The Spartans, on the other hand, celebrated their victory with the liveliest expressions of national triumph. Othryades alone partook not the general joy. Ashamed of returning to Sparta a solitary monument of three hundred brave men, he, with a generous despair, sacrificed his own life to the manes of his warlike companions. Such were the circumstances of the Lacedæmonian republic, when the ambassadors of Cræsus came to demand their assistance. The prosperity of their own situation naturally heightened, by contrast, the melancholy condition of their unfortunate ally, besieged, as they learned, in his capital, by a victorious army. They immediately resolved to send him a speedy and effectual relief; and for this purpose assembled their troops, made ready their vessels, and prepared every thing necessary for the expedition.

The valor of the Spartans might perhaps have upheld the sinking empire of Lydia, but before their armament could set sail, Cræsus was no longer a sovereign. Notwithstanding the strength of Sardis, that city had been taken by storm, on the twentieth day of the siege; the walls having been scaled in a quarter, which, appearing altogether inaccessible, was too carelessly guarded. This was effected by the enterprise of Hyreades a Mede, who accidentally observed a sentinel descend part of the rock in order to recover his helmet. Hyreades was a native of the mountainous province of Mardia, and being accustomed to

C H 2 R
VII.

They determine to assist Cræsus.

Sardis taken by the Persians. Olymp. lviii. 1. A. C. 548.

CHAP. VII. clamber over the dangerous precipices of a hostile country, resolved to try his activity upon the rock upon which he had discovered the design. The design was more easily accomplished than he had reason to expect; emulation and success encouraged the bravest of the Persians to follow his example; these were supported by great numbers of their countrymen; the garrison was surprised; the citadel stormed; and the capital of lower Asia subjected to the rapacity of an indignant victor⁴².

The Persians were accustomed, like nations of the ancient world, to exercise the conquest, without respecting the laws of humanity. Though they fought, and conquered, they considered, only for the benefit of their prince, slaves and property they themselves were the first emotions of military success they overruled all the eagerness of avarice, and all the rage of resentment; acting as if they had been to punish, not the enemies of their king, their own personal foes; and as if each man was entitled to reap the full fruits of his cruelty.

Unge-
ne-
rous treat-
ment of
Cræsus.

The Lydian prince, delivered, as we saw, by an extraordinary accident from the toils of the soldiery⁴³, seemed to be reserv-

⁴² Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxiv.

⁴³ Herodot. p. 36. Cræsus had a dumb son, who in a sudden rush against his father, whose misfortunes had rendered him careless of life, first spoke on this occasion: *Αἰσχροὺς μὲν εἶμι*. The learned in physiology will decide, whether certain of speech may sometimes be conquered by the impetuous force of some strong passion.

harder fate. Dragged into the presence of his conqueror, he was loaded with irons; and the stern, unrelenting Cyrus, of whose humane temper of mind we have so beautiful, but so flattering a picture in the philosophical romance of Xenophon, ordered him, with the melancholy train of his Lydian attendants, to be committed to the flames. An immense pile of wood and other combustibles, was erected in the most spacious part of the city. The miserable victims bound hand and foot, were placed on the top of the pyre. Cyrus, surrounded by his generals, witnessed the dreadful spectacle, either from an abominable principle of superstition, if he had bound himself by a vow to sacrifice Cræsus as the first fruits of his Lydian victory, or from a motive of curiosity, equally cruel and impious, to try whether Cræsus, who had so magnificently adorned the temples and enriched the ministers of the gods, would be helped in time of need by the miraculous interposition of his much honored protectors “.

C H A P.
VII.

Meanwhile the unfortunate Lydian, oppressed and confounded by the intolerable weight of his present calamity, compared with the security and splendor of his former state, recollected his memorable conversation with the Athenian sage, and uttered with a deep groan the name of Solon. Cyrus asked by an interpreter, “ Whose name he

“ Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxvi.

C H A P. invoked?" "*His*," replied Cræsus, emboldened
 VII. by the prospect of certain death, "whose words
 ought ever to speak to the heart of kings." This
 reply not being satisfactory, he was commanded to
 explain at full length the subject of his thoughts.
 Accordingly he related the important discourse
 which had passed between himself and the Athenian,
 of which it was the great moral, that no man could
 be called happy till his death."

Cyrus re-
 ceives him
 into fa-
 vor.

The words of a dying man are fitted to make a
 strong impress on the heart. Those of Cræsus
 deeply affected the mind of Cyrus. The Persian
 considered the speech of Solon as addressed to
 himself. He repented of his intended cruelty to-
 wards an unfortunate prince, who had formerly
 enjoyed all the pomp of prosperity: and dreading
 the concealed vengeance that might lurk in the
 bosom of Fate, gave orders that the pyre should
 be extinguished. But the workmen who had been
 employed to prepare it, had performed their task
 with so much care, that the order could not speedi-
 ly be obeyed. At that moment, Cræsus calling
 on Apollo, whose favorite shrine of Delphi had
 experienced his generous munificence, and whose
 perfidious oracle had made him so ungrateful a
 return, the god, it is said, sent a plentiful shower
 to extinguish the pyre. This event, which saved
 the life, and which sufficiently attested the piety of
 Cræsus, strongly recommended him to the credu-
 lity of his conqueror. It seemed impossible to pay

⁹⁵ See above, p. 305.

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too much respect to a man who was evidently the favorite of heaven. Cyrus gave orders that he should be seated by his side, and thenceforth treated as a king; a revolution of fortune equally sudden and unexpected. But the mind of Cræsus had undergone a still more important revolution; for, tutored in the useful school of adversity, he learned to think with patience, and to act with prudence; to govern his own passions by the dictates of reason, and to repay by wholesome advice the generous behaviour of his Persian master “.

C H A P.
VII.

The first advantage which he derived from the change in Cyrus's disposition towards him, was the permission of sending his fetters to the temple of Delphian Apollo, whose flattering oracles had encouraged him to wage war with the Persians. “Behold,” were his messengers instructed to say, “the trophies of our promised success! behold the monuments of the unerring veracity of the god!” The Pythia heard their reproach with a smile of contemptuous indignation, and answered it with that solemn gravity which she was so carefully taught to assume: “The gods themselves cannot avoid their *own* destiny, much less avert, however they may retard, the determined fates of men. Cræsus has suffered, and justly suffered, for the crime of his ancestor Gyges, who intrusted, as chief of the guards, with the person of Candaules, the last king of the race of Hercules, was seduced by an impious woman to murder his master, to defile his bed, and to usurp his

Cræsus re-
proaches
the oracle
of Delphi;

“ Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxix.

C H A P. royal dignity. For this complicated guilt of Gyges
VII. the misfortunes of Cræsus have atoned; but know,
 that, through the favor of Apollo, these misfor-
 tunes have happened three years later than the
 fates ordained ⁴⁷. The Pythia then proceeded to
 explain her answers concerning the event of the
 war against Cyrus, and proved, to the conviction
 of the Lydians, that her words, if properly
 understood, portended the destruction, not of the
 Persian, but of the Lydian empire. Cræsus heard
 with resignation the report of his messengers, and
 acknowledged the justice of the Delphian oracle,
 which maintained and increased the lustre of its
 ancient fame.

whose pre-
 dictions
 are ex-
 plained to
 his satis-
 faction.

⁴⁷ Herodot. l. i. c. xxi. et seq.

C H A P. VIII.

Cyrus threatens the Asiatic Colonies. — Their Measures. — The Spartans remonstrate against his Design. — Conquests of Harpagus. — Migrations of the vanquished Greeks. — Cyrus takes Babylon. — Cambyfes subdues Egypt. — Receives Tribute from the African Greeks. — Reign of Darius. — Final Settlement of the Persian Empire. — Degeneracy of Manners. — Revolt of Ionia. — State of Greece. — The Ionian Revolt abetted by the Athenians and Eretrians — who burn Sardis. — The Asiatic Greeks defeated by Sea and Land. — Their Condition under the Persian Government.

DURING the reign of Cræsus, and his four warlike predeceffors, the Asiatic Greeks sometimes enjoyed their favorite form of republican government, sometimes submitted to domestic tyrants, alternately recovered and lost their national independence. The success of the ambitious Cyrus was not likely to improve the condition of the Ionians, who, during the dependence of his fortune, had repeatedly neglected opportunities to deserve his gratitude. Before invading Lower Asia, he earnestly entreated them to share the glory of his arms; but they preferred their allegiance to Cræsus, before the friendship of a less known, and perhaps severer, tyrant. When the fortune of war,

C H A P.
VIII.
Cyrus
threatens
the Io-
nians.
Olymp.
lviii. 2.
A. C. 547.

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C H A P. VIII. or rather the superiority of his own genius, had given Cyrus possession of all the neighbouring provinces, the Ionians were forward to declare, by embassy, their acceptance of his proffered alliance; or, if that should now be refused, to request his protection on the same terms required by his Lydian predecessor. This submissive proposal only inflamed the ambition of the Persian; and his celebrated answer¹, on this occasion, clearly announced to the Greeks, that if they would escape the rigor of servitude, they must owe their safety to the strenuous exertions of a brave defence, not to the clemency of Cyrus.

Measures
of the
Asiatic co-
lonies.

When his hostile intentions were made known in Ionia, the inhabitants of that delightful country assembled in the Panionian grove, their ordinary rendezvous in general and important deliberations. This place, which, together with the adjoining promontory of Mycalé, was solemnly consecrated to Neptune, formed the centre of the Ionic coast. Towards the north extended the spacious bay of Ephesus, beyond which the beautiful peninsula of Clazomené stretched an hundred miles into the Ægean. On the south, the territory of Miletus occupied sixty-two miles of the winding shore. But the Milesians sent not their deputies to the present convention; for having been the confederates, not

¹ After the Oriental fashion, he answered them by an apologue. A piper seeing a great swarm of fishes in the sea, began to play, in order to allure them to land. But as they disregarded his music, he employed a net with better success. When caught, the fishes jumped about in the net. But he told them, "It is unnecessary now to dance, since I have ceased to play." Herodot. l. i. c. cxli.

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the subjects of Cræsus, they were admitted into the Persian alliance on terms of equality and independence. The Grecian interest in Asia, thus ungenerously abandoned by the principal member of the confederacy, was supported with unusual spirit and unanimity by all the inferior communities. Representatives immediately appeared from Myus and Priené, which were situate, like Miletus, on the coast of Caria; from Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomené, Erythræ, Phocæa, and Smyrna, which formed the maritime part of Lydia; and from the isles of Chios and Samos, which completed the whole number of the Ionic settlements.

C H A P.
VIII,
The Ionian confederacy.

Meanwhile the Eolians, alarmed by the same danger, convened in their ancient capital of Cymé. Their inferior towns were, Larissa, Neontichus, Tenus, Cilla, Notion, Æginoæssa, Pitané, Ægæa, Myrina, and Greneia. Their territory was more extensive and more fertile than that of their Ionian rivals, but their climate less temperate², their harbours less commodious, and their cities far less considerable in power and fame.

That of
the Eo-
lians.

It may seem extraordinary that the Dorians, especially those inhabiting the peninsula of Caria,

Of the
Dorians.

² Herodotus's encomium on the climate of Ionia is remarkable:

Οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες ἔτι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιονίον ἐστὶ, τὰ μὲν ὕψος, καὶ τῶν ὕψους ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτυγχάνον ἰδρυσάμενοι πόλεως, πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμῖς ἰδμεν: "These Ionians, to whom Panionium belongs, have built cities in the finest climate, and in the most beautiful situations, of all men whom we know." He then proceeds to observe, that the countries on all sides of Ionia were oppressed by cold and humidity on the one hand, or heat and drought on the other, Herod. l. i. c. cxlii.

C H A P. VIII. who were likewise destined to feel the Persian power, should not have joined in measures necessary for the common defence. But this circumstance it is still possible to explain. Of the six Doric republics, who annually assembled at Triopium to celebrate the festival of Apollo³, four were encouraged, by their insular situation, to contemn the threats of Cyrus. Cnidus, as will appear hereafter, hoped to derive from art the same advantages which its confederates, Cos, Lindus, Jalissus, and Camirus, enjoyed by nature. And Halicarnassus, the sixth Dorian state, as we are informed with a laudable impartiality, by a native of that city, had been recently excluded from the Triopian festival. This disgrace was occasioned by the sordid avarice of Agasicles the Halicarnassian, who having conquered in the Triopian games, carried away the tripod, which was the prize of his victory; whereas, according to an established rule, he ought to have consecrated it in the temple of Apollo. His sacrilege deprived his country of the common benefits of the Dorian name⁴.

Contrast
between
the ancient
and mo-
dern state
of Lower
Asia.

To enliven the dryness of geographical description, essential, however, to the perspicuity of the present narrative, we should in vain turn our thoughts to the actual condition of the Asiatic shore. Few vestiges remain of the Doric and Eolic cities; and even the Ionic, which far surpassed them in magnificence and splendor, can scarcely be recognized by the learned and curious

³ Three in the isle of Rhodes, one in Cos.

⁴ Herodot. 1. i. c. cxliv.

traveller. Nothing now remains but the indelible impressions of nature; the works of men have perished with themselves. The physical advantages of Lower Asia continue nearly the same now, as two thousand years ago; but the moral condition of that country, compared to what it once was, is the silent obscurity of the grave, contrasted with the vivid lustre of active life.

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The Asiatic Greeks, having examined the state of their affairs, were fully sensible of their own weakness, compared with the strength of the enemy. In forming their establishments in Asia, they had confined themselves to a long and narrow line on the coast, looking with a wishful eye towards the mother-country, from which, in every calamity, they expected assistance and protection. The result, therefore, of the present deliberation was to send an embassy into Greece, in order to explain the danger to which they were exposed, and to show the necessity of powerful and timely aid. It might have been expected that Attica, the native country of the Ionians, should have received the first visit of the ambassadors; but Athens was then governed by the tyrant Pisistratus, who, it was supposed, would be averse to take arms against a tyrant like himself. Sparta, though a republic of greater power and renown, was little connected, either by commerce or affinity, with the Greeks of Asia. The proposals of the Asiatic ambassadors,

The Asiatic Greeks send an embassy, craving aid, to the mother-country. Olymp. lvi. A. C. 540.

⁵ The changes in the face of the country, produced chiefly by the receding of the sea, may be seen in the splendid work of Monsieur Choiseul Gouffier, *Le Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, etc.

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C H A P. therefore, were very coolly received by the
VIII. Spartan senate. On such occasions, however, it was customary to take the opinions also of the people. In the assembly convened for this purpose, Pythermus, a Phocæan, clothed with purple, as a mark of his consideration in his native country, spoke for himself and his colleagues. But the beauties of his Ionic dialect were unable to move the resolution of the Lacedæmonians, who, mindful of the ancient enmity between the Ionic and the Doric race, declined sending any forces into Asia, to resist the arms of Cyrus. Though their generosity furnished no public assistance, their caution privately dispatched several Spartan citizens to observe the operations of the war. When these men arrived in Ionia, they were easily persuaded to exceed the bounds of their commission. They appointed Lacrines, the most considerable of their number, to travel to the Lydian capital, in order to acquaint Cyrus, that if he committed hostilities against any of the Grecian cities, the Lacedæmonian republic would know how to punish his injustice. Cyrus, astonished at such an insolent message from a people altogether unknown to him, asked the Greeks present (for there was always a great number of Grecian fugitives in the armies of their neighbours), who the Lacedæmonians were? and what number of men they could bring into the field? When informed of these particulars,

The Spartans re-monstrate with Cyrus against his design of subduing the Asiatic Greeks.

* Herodotus leaves it uncertain whether this ignorance was not affected, the better to mark his contempt.

he

he replied to the Spartan ambassador, "That he never should fear men who had a square in the midst of their city, in which they met together to practice mutual falsehood and deception"; and that if he continued to enjoy the blessings of health, he hoped to afford the Spartans more domestic reasons of complaint, than his military preparations against the Greeks of Asia."

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His answer to them.

The interview with Lacrines happened among the last public transactions during Cyrus's residence at Sardis. Having reduced Cræsus into captivity, the only enemy in those parts who seemed worthy of his arms, he was eager to return towards the East, in order to complete his conquests in Upper Asia. The Grecians he knew to be a warlike people; but as their numbers were inconsiderable, their cities small, and ill fortified, he thought proper to attempt in person enterprises of greater renown, and to commit the Grecian war to the skill of his lieutenant, Harpagus*.

His lieutenant Harpagus reduces all the countries of Lower Asia. Olymp. lx. 2. A. C. 529.

In the course of a few months, this general made himself master of all the countries of Lower Asia, possessed by either Greeks or Barbarians. Having the command of men and labor, he caused mounds of earth to be thrown up, adjacent to the Grecian walls. In this service, immense

* Cyrus alludes to the market-places, or public squares, common in all Grecian cities, with the use of which the Asiatics were totally unacquainted, "being destitute," as Herodotus says, "of all places of public resort."

* His predecessor, Mazares, died almost immediately after he had taken Prienè and Magnesia, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. Herodot. l. i. c. lxi.

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C H A P. numbers must have perished by the darts of the
VIII. enemy; but the work was no sooner completed, than the Persians, running up the mounds, got possession of the walls, drove the Greeks from their battlements, overpowered them from their own fortifications, entered, and sacked their towns*.

The Phocæans
 leave their
 country.
 Olymp.
 ix. 2.

A. C. 539.

When we consider the fury with which the wars of the ancients were carried on, and reflect, that the immediate consequences of a defeat were servitude or death, we have reason to believe that the Greeks would make a resolute and bloody defence. This indeed sufficiently appears, by the evidence of a few scattered facts preserved in history. The first place which Harpagus attacked was the celebrated capital of the Phocæans, the most northern city of Ionia. The inhabitants, as already mentioned, were famous for their long and successful navigations, in the course of which they had often visited the coasts of Spain, the Mexico and Peru of the ancient world. The money derived from that country had enabled them to build the best fortification that was to be seen in all those parts; yet they entertained not any hopes of resisting the Persian invaders. Such, however, was their love of liberty, and their dread of seeing in their streets the army of a conqueror, that they resolved on a measure which has been often proposed, but seldom executed. When Harpagus sent them his commands, they begged the favor of a day's pause for deliberation. In all probability they had already taken

* Herodot. lib. 2. cap. clxii, clxiii, et seq.

many necessary measures for effecting their escape; for during that short interval, their ships were prepared, their money and goods put on board, their wives and families embarked, and the whole community was floating on the waves, when the Persians arrived to take possession of desolated dwellings and empty walls. The advantageous situation of Phocæa, and the pains which had been taken to improve and to embellish it, make this resolution appear the more extraordinary; if any thing, at least, can add to the wonder, that a whole people should unanimously abandon their temples, their altars, and what in ancient times seemed not less sacred, the tombs of their ancestors; should totally divest themselves of every right to a country which they had been accustomed to call their own; and set sail with their wives and children, ignorant whither to direct their course, or in what friendly port they might expect protection or repose¹⁰.

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The Phocæan fleet, consisting of more than two hundred sail, made for the isle of Chios, which, of all the Ionic settlements, seemed most secure against the Persian arms. Having arrived there, they endeavoured to purchase from the Chians the small Oenussian islands: But the Chians, jealous of their commerce, and knowing the adventurous spirit of the fugitives, denied their request. The Phocæans, thus cruelly rejected by men of the same race and language with themselves, set sail on a

Their adventures.

¹⁰ Herodot. l. i. c. cxlii.

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C H A P. much longer voyage, for the isle of Cynus, or
VIII. Corfica, where, about twenty years before, they
 had formed a small establishment. As they coasted,
 in the night, along the solitary shore of their an-
 cient city, a few ships, manned with enterprising
 crews, landed in the harbour, surprised the Persian
 garrison, and put every man to the sword. After
 applauding this memorable act of revenge, the
 whole fleet, transported with fury against the Per-
 sians, bound themselves by mutual oaths never to
 return to Phocæa, until a burning ball of iron,
 which they threw into the sea, should again emerge
 unextinguished ¹¹. Yet such is the powerful at-
 tachment of men to their ancient habitations, that
 in a few hours, more than one half of the fleet, un-
 able to resist the alluring prospect of their native
 shore, disregarded their oaths, and sailed for the well-
 known harbour. The destruction of the Persian
 garrison removed the only obstacle in the way of im-
 mediate possession; and the blame of this massacre
 might be thrown on their countrymen who fled,
 while those who returned to Phocæa might prove
 their innocence, by speedily submitting to every
 burden imposed on them. Meanwhile, the best
 and bravest portion of the Phocæan republic ar-
 rived with safety at the island of Corfica; where,
 their subsequent adventures, not being immediately
 connected with our present subject, will merit
 attention in another part of this history ¹².

Part of
 them re-
 turn.

The Te-
 ians settle
 in Abdera.

The Phocæans were not the only people of
 Asiatic Greece who deserted their country, rather

¹¹ Herodot. l. i. c. clxv.

¹² Idem. *ibid.*

than abandon their liberty. The Teians, who inhabited the southern shore of the Ionic peninsula, had not yet been softened into cowardice by the effeminate muse of Anacreon. They followed the generous example which the inhabitants of Phocæa had set; forsook a city in which they could no longer remain free, and sought refuge in Abdera, an ancient colony of Clazomené, on the coast of Thrace, and near the mouth of the river Nessus¹⁴. The city of Clazomené, now mentioned, was built on the continent; but on the present occasion, the inhabitants, to avoid slavery, settled in eight small islands, at a little distance from the shore, on which they founded a new city, the model of that of Venice. The advantage which the Clazomenians enjoyed by nature; the Cnidians endeavoured to procure by art. They occupied the extremity of the Carian peninsula; and their city being joined to the continent by an isthmus of only half a mile broad, they attempted, by means of a ditch, to detach themselves entirely from the main land. If this could be effected, they might despise the power of their enemies, who not having as yet subdued the Phœnicians, possessed not any naval force sufficient to conquer the Grecian isles. But the approach of the Persians, and still more their own superstitious fears, interrupted this useful undertaking; and the city of Cnidus, as well as all others on the Asiatic coast, Miletus alone

C H A P.
VIII.
Olymp.
lx. 2.
A. C. 539.

Measures
of the
Clazome-
nians.

Of the
Cnidians.

¹⁴ Herodot. l. i. c. lxxviii. et c. clxxviii.

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C. H. A. P. VIII. excepted, were reduced to unconditional submission under the Persian yoke.

Cyrus be-
sieves Ba-
bylon.
Olymp.
lx. 2.
A. C. 539.

While the arms of Harpagus were thus successful on the western shore, those of Cyrus acquired still greater glory in the central parts of Asia²⁴. With amazing rapidity his victorious troops over-ran the rich countries between the Mediterranean and the Tigris. Every thing gave way before their valor and their fortune. The city of Babylon alone, the ancient and proud capital of the Assyrian empire, opposed its lofty and impenetrable walls to the ambition of the conqueror. When all the countries round were reduced into obedience, it might seem absurd in the inhabitants of one place to think of resisting the Persian arms. But when we consider the singular resources of this place, we shall perceive, that a design which would have been obstinate folly in any other citizens, was no more than proper firmness in the Babylonians. Their capital, which was celebrated for its magnificence, wealth, and magnitude, when nothing deserving the name of capital existed elsewhere in the world, was situate in a spacious plain, surrounded on all sides by broad and rapid rivers. The outward wall was of a firm quadrangular form, three hundred feet high, seventy-five broad, extending sixty miles in circumference, and surrounded by a deep ditch, continually supplied

²⁴ Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, and Herodotus, contain the materials for the reign of Cyrus, as far as it is connected with the history of Greece. It is foreign to the subject of the present work, to examine the differences between these authors.

with water. Behind this extraordinary bulwark, of whose existence the wall of China and the pyramids of Egypt can alone serve to convince modern incredulity, was another of almost equal dimensions; and besides both these general fortifications, each division of the city had its appropriated mounds and defences. It is unnecessary to describe the towers, temples, and gardens, which by their singular greatness evidently announced the seat of a mighty empire. These magnificent monuments tended, indeed, to adorn, but others, less splendid, served to defend Babylon¹¹. These were magazines of corn and provisions, capable of maintaining the inhabitants for twenty years; and arsenals, which supplied with arms such a number of fighting men as seemed equal to the conquest or defence of a powerful monarchy. It was to be expected that Babylon would exert its utmost strength, being then governed by Labynetus, or Belthazar, whose despotism, injustice, and impiety, exceeded even the crimes of his father Nebuchadnezzar, and left him no room to expect forgiveness from the clemency of Cyrus.

During two years Cyrus blocked up the city, without attaining any nearer prospect of success than when he first approached its walls. The events of this memorable siege are not related by ancient writers. We only know, that the efforts of the Persians proved fruitless, until strength was directed by stratagem. The river Euphrates

Takes the city by stratagem. Olymp. lx. 3. A. C. 532

¹¹ Herodot. l. i. c. cxxxix. et seq.

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C H A P. VIII. entered, by a deep channel, the northern walls of Babylon, and issuing forth from the opposite side, almost equally bisected the city. Of this circumstance Cyrus availed himself to become master of the place. He employed his numerous army in digging a profound cavern adjacent to the lofty mound which confined the course of the river. This work being completed, he patiently waited an opportunity for cutting the mound, and thus turning the waters of the Euphrates into the prepared cavern; since if this could be done without being perceived by the enemy, his troops, stationed at the two passages of the Euphrates, in and out of the city, might enter Babylon by the channel which the river had abandoned. This design was happily executed, when the Babylonians, who had long despised the impotent efforts of the besiegers, were employed in celebrating a festival with every circumstance of the most licentious security. The mound of the Euphrates being divided, the highest waters deserted their channel, the river became fordable, and the troops of Cyrus, who, had not the Babylonians been sunk in riot and debauchery, might have been confined between the walls, and overwhelmed by darts from the battlements, made their entrance unperceived into the place; cut to pieces the unarmed inhabitants; and having punished an impious king and his voluptuous courtiers, took possession of the greatest and richest city of the ancient world ¹⁶.

¹⁶ Herodot. l. i. c. clxxviii. — c. cxcii.

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This memorable event rendered Cyrus sole master of those valuable countries around the Tigris and Euphrates, which, from time immemorial, had been the seat of despotism and luxury, wealth and wickedness. The active ambition of this great prince was adopted by the emulation of his immediate successors. His son Cambyfes received the submission of Tyre and Cyprus, and effected the important conquest of Egypt, in the consequences of which the Greek colonies in that country, and on the adjoining coast of Africa, were involved.

In the eighth century before the Christian æra, the adventurous colonies in Ionia and Caria had, amidst other commercial, or rather piratical expeditions, undertaken a voyage to Egypt. Their brazen armor¹⁷, their courage, and their activity, were beheld with amazement and terror by the Egyptians, then divided by faction, and torn by sedition. Psammetichus, one of the many pretenders to the throne, engaged the Greeks in his service. Through their valor and discipline he became master of Egypt. His rewards and promises prevailed on them to settle in that country. They upheld the throne of his successors, until Apries, the fourth in descent from Psammetichus, having undertaken an unfortunate expedition against the Greek colony of Cyrène, was dethroned by Amasis, the contemporary and ally of Cræsus¹⁸.

Amasis rivalled the Lydian prince, in his partiality for the language and manners of the Greeks:

¹⁷ Herodot. l. ii. c. ciii. et seq.

¹⁸ Herodot. ibid. et Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. xlvj.

C H A P.

VIII.

Conquests
of his suc-
cessor
Cambyfes.
Olymp.
lxii. 4.
A. C. 529.
Olymp.
lxiv. 1.
A. C. 524.

Psammeti-
chus raised
to the
throne of
Egypt by
Greek pi-
rates,

who settle
in that
country:

Are em-
ployed as
the body-
guard of
his succef-
sor Amasis.

C H A P. VIII. He raised a Cyrenian woman to the honors of his bed. The Greeks who had served his predecessors, and who, in consequence of the Egyptian law, obliging the son to follow the profession of his father, now amounted to near thirty thousand, he removed to Memphis, his capital, and employed them as his body-guard. He encouraged the correspondence of this colony with the mother-country; invited new inhabitants from Greece into Egypt; promoted the commercial intercourse between the two nations; and assigned to the Greek merchants for their residence the town and district of Naucratis, on the Nile, where they enjoyed the free exercise of their religious processions and solemnities, and where the industry of the little island of Ægina in Europe, and the opulence of several Greek cities in Asia, erected temples after the fashion of their respective countries¹⁹.

Cambyfes
conquers
Egypt.
Olymp.
1xiii. 4.
A. C. 525.

This able prince was succeeded by his son Psammenitus, soon after Cambyfes mounted the throne of Persia. While Cambyfes made preparations for invading Egypt, Psammenitus imprudently excited the resentment of Phanes²⁰, a Halicarnassian by birth, and an officer of much authority in the Grecian guards. Phanes having dexterously effected his escape from Egypt, offered his services to Cambyfes, who by this time had collected the Grecian and Phœnician fleets. This armament, however, seemed unequal to the conquest of Egypt; and to conduct an army thither by land, was an

¹⁹ Herodot. l. ii. c. clii. et seq.

²⁰ Herodot. l. iii. c. iv. etc.

undertaking of extreme difficulty, The main ob- C H A P.
 stacle was overcome by the experience of Phanes. VIII.
 He advised Cambyſes to purchaſe the friendſhip of
 an Arabian chief, who agreed to transport on camels
 a ſufficient quantity of water for the uſe of the Per-
 ſians in their paſſage through the deſert. With
 the punctuality peculiar “ to his nation, the Ara-
 bian fulfilled his engagement. The Perſian army
 joined the fleet before Peluſium; that place, re-
 garded as the key of Egypt, ſurrendered after a
 ſhort ſiege; Pſammenitus was defeated in a great
 battle; and the whole kingdom ſubmitted to a
 haughty conqueror “, whom proſperity rendered
 incapable of pity or remorse.

His cruel, outrageous, and almoſt frantic be-
 haviour in Egypt, alarmed the neighbouring Afri-
 cans, who ſought to avert the tempeſt from them-
 ſelves by ſpeedy offers of ſubmiſſion and tribute.
 This prudent meaſure was adopted even by the
 Greek inhabitants of Cyrenaica, who had braved
 the united power of Egypt and Libya. The
 African Greeks were a colony of Thera, the moſt
 ſouthern iſland of the Ægean, and itſelf a colony
 of the Lacedæmonians “²¹. During the heroic
 ages, but it is uncertain at what precise æra, the
 adventurous iſlanders ſettled in that part of the
 Sinus Syrticus, which derived its name from the
 principal city, Cyrene, and which is now loſt in
 the deſert of Barca. Deſcended from Lacedæmon,

The Afri-
 can Greeks
 pay tribute
 to Cam-
 byſes.

Their hiſ-
 tory.

²¹ Herodot. *ibid.*

²² *Idem, ibid.*

²³ Herodot. l. iv. c. elix. et ſeq.

C H A P. VIII. the Cyrenians naturally preserved the regal form of government. Under Battus, the third prince of that name, their territory was well cultivated, and their cities populous and flourishing. Six centuries before the Christian æra, they received a considerable accession of inhabitants from the mother-country. Emboldened by this reinforcement, they attacked the neighbouring Libyans²⁴, and seized on their possessions. The injured craved assistance from Apries king of Egypt²⁵. A confederacy was thus formed, in order to repress the incursions, and to chastise the audacity of the European invaders. But the valor and discipline of Greece, though they yet feared to encounter the power of Cambyfes, and the renown of Persia, always triumphed over the numbers and the ferocity of Africa²⁶: nor did Cyrene become tributary to Egypt, till Egypt itself had been subdued by a Grecian king, and the sceptre of the Pharaohs and of Sesostris had passed into the hands of the Ptolemies²⁷.

Darius
Hystaspes
mounts
the throne
of Persia.
Olymp.
lxiv. 4.
A. C. 521.

Cambyfes is said to have died by an accidental wound from his own sword. Darius Hystaspes, the third in succession to the empire (for the short reign of the priest Smerdis deserves only to be mentioned in the history of the palace), possessed the political abilities, but reached not the magna-

²⁴ Herodot. l. iv. c. clix.

²⁵ Herodot. *ibid.* Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. xlv.

²⁶ Herodot. *ibid.* et l. iil. c. clxi.

²⁷ Strabo, l. ii. et l. xvii. p. 836. Pausan. l. i.

nimity, of Cyrus. His ambition was unbounded, and his avarice still greater than his ambition. To discriminate the characters of the three first and most illustrious of their monarchs, the Persians, in the expressive language of the East, styled Cyrus the father, Cambyfes the master, or tyrant, and Darius the broker, of the empire. The last-mentioned prince added the wealthy, but unwarlike, nations of India to his dominions. This important acquisition, which closed the long series of Persian conquests in Asia, was formed into the twentieth satrapy, or great division, of the empire. The other military enterprises of this prince (as we shall soon have occasion to relate) were less successful. But his reign is chiefly remarkable, as the supposed æra at which the religious and civil polity of the Persians received that form which they afterwards invariably retained.

Yet it must be acknowledged, that the greatest learning and ingenuity have failed in the arduous task of ascertaining the age, and still more of explaining the doctrines, of Zoroaster. At whatever period he lived, he certainly did for the Persians, what Homer and Hesiod are said to have done for the Greeks²⁸. His theogony²⁹, as the Greeks would have called it, consisted in the extravagant doctrine of the two principles, in some moral precepts, and innumerable absurd ceremonies. The magi, or priests, who probably derived some share of their influence from practising

C H A P.
VIII.

The sup-
posed age
of Zoro-
aster.

Religion
of the Per-
sians.

²⁸ See above, p. 250.

²⁹ Herodot. l. i. c. cxxxij.

C H A P. those occult sciences afterwards distinguished by
VIII. their name, were strongly protected by the authority of the prophet. "Though your good works," says the Sadder, "exceed the sands on the sea-shore, or the stars of heaven, they will all be unprofitable, unless accepted by the priest, to whom you must pay tithes of all you possess, of your goods, of your lands, and of your money. The priests are the teachers of religion, they know all things, and deliver all men." Next to the priests, the royal family, and particularly the reigning prince, was the peculiar care of Zoroaster. In their prayers and sacrifices, the Persians were not allowed to solicit individually for themselves the protection of heaven, but only for the great king, and for the nation at large. In celebrating their religious worship, they employed neither altars, nor images, nor temples; they even derided the folly of such practices in others, probably (says Herodotus) not believing, like the Greeks, the nature of the gods to resemble that of men. On the summits of the highest mountains they sacrificed to the divinity, and the whole circle of the heavens they called God. They sacrificed, besides, to the elements, particularly fire, which they considered as the purest symbol, and most powerful agent, of the Divine Nature. They borrowed, however, the worship of some other divinities from the Assyrians and Arabians; for of all ancient nations, the Persians, according to Herodotus, were the most disposed to adopt the customs of their neighbours. They soon

preferred the dress, and as an essential part of c
 dress, the arms of the Medes to their own. When
 they became acquainted with the Greeks, they T
 learned the worst and most unnatural of their vices. m
 There was scarcely any absurdity, or any wicked-
 ness, which they might not imbibe, from the li-
 centious caprice, the universal corruption, and
 the excessive depravity of Babylon. The hardy
 and intrepid warriors, who had conquered Asia,
 were themselves subdued by the vices of that lux-
 urious city. In the space of fifty-two years, which
 intervened between the taking of Babylon, and
 the disgraceful defeat at Marathon, the sentiments,
 as well as the manners of the Persians, underwent
 a total change; and, notwithstanding the boasted
 simplicity of their religious worship, we shall find
 them thenceforth oppressed by the double yoke
 of despotism and superstition, whose combined in-
 fluence extinguished every generous feeling, and
 checked every manly impulse of the soul".

The tendency towards this internal decay was
 not perceived during the reign of Cyrus, whose
 extraordinary abilities enabled him to soften the
 rigors of despotism, without endangering his au-
 thority. He committed not the whole weight of
 government to the insolence of satraps, those proud
 substitutes of despotism, who were ever ready to
 betray their trust, and abuse their power. The
 inferior governors of towns and districts were ap-
 pointed and removed by himself, to whom only

* Xenoph. de Inst. Cyri, l. iii. p. 238—243.

CHAP. VIII. they were accountable. By an institution, somewhat resembling the modern post, he provided for exact and ready information concerning the public occurrences in every part of his dominions. The vigilant shepherd of his people, he was always ready to hear their petitions, to redress their grievances, and to reward their merit. Nor did the love of ease or pleasure ever interfere with the discharge of his duty, in which he placed the greatest glory and happiness of his reign."

Under Darius.
Olymp.
lxv. 4.
A. C. 417.
Resources
and grandeur of that
monarch.

His successors were universally distinguished by an exorbitant ambition, nourished by the immense resources of their empire, which under Darius amounted to fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Eubæic talents, a sum equal to three millions six hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds sterling. Of this vast revenue, which, considering the value of money in ancient times, exceeded thirty millions at present, the Greek cities on the coast, together with the Carians, Lycians, and several other nations of Asia Minor, paid only the thirty-sixth part, a little more than a hundred thousand pounds. Besides this stated income, Darius might on every necessary occasion demand the money and services of his subjects. His predecessors were contented with voluntary contributions, and a militia. This prince established taxes, and a standing army. The number of his troops equalled the resources of his treasury; and both corresponded to the extent of his dominions, which

²² Xenoph. *ibid.* p. 239.

compre-

comprehended the greatest and most populous nations of the earth. The barbarity of the northern Scythians, and the pertinacious spirit of the European Greeks, the only enemies whom it remained for him to conquer, seemed feeble barriers against the progress of universal monarchy. In the extensive regions of Asia, every head bowed to the tiara of the great king, who in an annual progress through the central parts of his empire, spent the winter in the warm plains of Babylon; enjoyed the happy temperature of spring in the city of Susa, which adorned the flowery banks of the Eulæus; and avoided the summer heats in his spacious palace at Ecbatan, fanned by the refreshing breezes of the Median mountains¹².

But Darius could not enjoy the splendor of his present greatness, while a single nation had merited his resentment, without feeling the weight of his revenge. The wandering hordes of Scythia have been, in all ages, formidable to the civilized kingdoms of the East. Thrice before the reign of Darius the inhabitants of that frozen region had over-run the finest provinces of Asia. Fighting against these barbarians, the founder of the Persian empire had lost his army and his life. It belonged to his warlike successor to punish the ferocity of that rude and uncultivated, but bold and high-minded people. With an army, it is said, of seven hundred thousand men, Darius traversed Asia Minor, crossed the Thracian Bosphorus,

His
dict
Scyt
Oly
lxvi
A. C

¹² Xenoph. *ibid.* et Herodot. l. iii. c. lxxix. et seq.

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C H A P. ravaged Thrace, and arrived on the banks of the
VIII. Danube. Meanwhile a fleet of six hundred sail left the Asiatic coast, and passing the narrow seas which join the Ægean to the Euxine, coasted in a northern direction the shores of the latter, entered the mouth of the Danube, and sailed along that river until they joined the army. The Danube was passed by the usual expedient of a bridge of boats, which was built by the assistance of the fleet, composed chiefly of Grecians, who were left to guard the work of their hands against the dangers of the elements, and the destructive rage of the Barbarians³³.

Loses great
 part of his
 army.

This formidable army, collected from so many distant provinces, boldly entered the vast uncultivated wilds of Scythia, in which they continued for five months, continually exposed to hunger and thirst, and the darts of the flying enemy. When they prepared to return from an expedition in which they had already lost the best part of their strength, their good fortune, rather than their prudence, saved them from immediate destruction. It had been agitated among the Greeks, whether they ought not to demolish the bridge; a measure strongly recommended to them by the Scythian tribes, who having ravaged all the adjacent country, expected to revenge the invasion of the Persians, by confining them, without resource, in an inhospitable desert. Miltiades, an Athenian, descended from the heroic Ajax, eagerly embraced this proposal

³³ Herodot. l. iv. c. i. et seq.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE. 355

He was king, or tyrant of the city of Cardia, situate near the neck of the Thracian Chersonesus. There his uncle, of the same name, planted a Grecian colony, which uniting with the barbarous natives, formed a small community, the government of which descended to the son of his brother Cimon, who increased the population of the rising state by new inhabitants from Athens. The generous son of Cimon, though, like all the princes of those parts, he held his authority under the protection of Darius, preferred the recovery of national independence to the preservation of personal dignity. The other chiefs of the Grecian cities listened with apparent pleasure to his arguments for destroying the bridge, and thus delivered themselves for ever from the yoke of Persia. Histæus, tyrant of Miletus, was alone averse to this bold resolution. He observed to the little tyrants of the Asiatic Greeks, "That their own interest was intimately connected with the safety of Darius and his Persians. Under the auspicious influence of that powerful people, they each of them enjoyed royalty in their respective commonwealths: but should the empire of the Persians fall, (and what less could be expected from the destruction of Darius and his army?) the Greeks would immediately discover their partiality for republican government, banish their kings, and reassume liberty." The opinion of Histæus prevailed; the Persians repassed the Danube: but Miltiades, dreading their resentment, had previously retired to Athens, where, twenty-three years

C H A P.

VIII.

Miltiades approves the advice of the Scythians for cutting off his retreat.

Histæus, tyrant of Miletus, opposes this measure.

His opinion prevails. Olymp. lxvi. 4. A. C. 513.

C. H. A. P. after the Scythian expedition, he enjoyed a more
 VIII. favorable opportunity of displaying his attachment
 to the cause of liberty, in the ever memorable
 battle of Marathon¹⁴.

He accom-
 panies Da-
 rius to
 Upper
 Asia.

If the public-spirited Athenian excited the hatred
 and revenge, the selfish tyrant of Miletus deserved
 the gratitude and the rewards of Darius. To
 continue the sovereign of his native city seemed
 a station below his merit; he was taken into the
 confidence of Darius, and accompanying him to
 Sardis, and afterwards to Susa, became the friend,
 counsellor, and favorite of the great king. While
 Histiaeus acted such a distinguished part at the
 Persian court, his nephew Aristagoras, to whom
 he had committed the government of Miletus,
 incurred the displeasure of Artaphernes¹⁵, the bro-
 ther of Darius, and governor of Sardis. The
 representations of that minister, he well knew,
 would be sufficient to ruin him, both with his
 uncle and with Darius, by whom he might be de-
 prived not only of his authority, but of his life.
 Governed by these considerations, Aristagoras
 meditated a revolt¹⁶, when a messenger unex-
 pectedly arrived from Histiaeus, exhorting him to
 that measure. The crafty Milesian, who disliked

¹⁴ Herodot. l. iv. c. i. et seq.

¹⁵ Aristagoras had quarrelled with Megabates, the kinsman of
 Artaphernes (since both were of the blood royal), during a fruitless
 expedition, in which they seem to have enjoyed a joint command,
 against the island of Naxos, one of the Cyclades. Herodot. l. ii.
 c. xxviii. et seq.

¹⁶ Herodot. l. v. c. xxxvi. xxxvii.

the restraint of a court, and the uncouth manners of the Persians, languished for an honorable pretence to return to his native country; and he saw not any means more proper for affording such an opportunity, than the tumults of the Greeks, which, as lieutenant of Darius, he would probably be sent to quell. His message confirmed the resolution of Aristagoras, who, as the first act of rebellion against the Persians, formally renounced all power over his fellow-citizens¹⁷. After giving this seemingly disinterested proof of his regard for the public, he erected the standard of freedom, which was soon surrounded by the flower of the Ionian youth; by whose assistance, traversing the whole coast, he abolished in every city the authority of kings, and proclaimed to all worthy to acquire it, the double blessing of civil liberty and national independence¹⁸.

The revolt thus happily effected, could not however be maintained without more powerful resources than the strength, the bravery, and the enthusiasm of the Asiatic Greeks. In order to resist the force of the Persian empire, which, it was easy to foresee, would soon be exerted in crushing their rebellion, it was necessary for the Ionians to obtain the protection and co-operation of their brethren in Europe. This important object was committed to the prudence and activity of Aristagoras, who having settled the affairs of the

C H A P.

VIII.

His intrigues with Aristagoras; Olymp. lxi. 3. A. C. 504.

who excites the Ionians to revolt from the Persian government.

Sails to Greece to crave assistance.

¹⁷ Herodot. l. v. c. xxxvi. xxxvii.

¹⁸ Herodot. l. v. c. xxxviii.

C H A P. East, undertook, for the public service, an embassy into Greece.

VIII.
His proceedings at
Sparta.

Lacedæmon still continued, rather in name, however, than in reality, the most powerful state in that country. Though their government was, in strict language, of the republican kind, yet the Spartans sometimes bestowed an extraordinary authority on their kings. This degree of pre-eminence, more honorable than any that birth or fortune can bestow, the public esteem had conferred on Cleomenes. To him therefore Aristagoras, after arriving at Sparta, found it necessary to apply¹¹; and in order to effect the object of his commission, he described to the Spartan king the immense wealth of the Persians, which they had neither virtue to enjoy, nor valor to defend. He painted in the warmest colors, the love of liberty which animated the Ionians, and their firm expectation that the Spartans would enable them to maintain that political independence, which their own laws taught them to consider as the most valuable of all human possessions. Their interest and their glory, he observed, were on this occasion most fortunately united: for how much greater glory might be acquired by conquering Asia, than by ravaging Greece? and how much easier would it be to defeat the Persian archers, than to subdue the Arcadians or Argives, who knew, as well as the Spartans themselves, the use of the spear and buckler? Their journey to Susa, the rich capital

¹¹ Herodot. I. v. c. xlix. et seq.

of the Persian dominions, would be not only safe but delightful. To prove this, he showed the Spartan a brazen tablet, on which, it is said, were engraved all the countries, seas, and rivers, of the ancient world. Pointing to the coast of Asia Minor, and the cities of the Ionians, with which Cleomenes was already acquainted, he showed him adjoining to these, the beautiful and rich country of Lydia. Next to the celebrated kingdom of Cræsus (he observed) extend the fertile fields of Phrygia, equally adapted to agriculture and pasturage. Beyond Phrygia lie the territories of the Capadocians, whom the Greeks call Syrians. Farther towards the east dwell the wealthy Cilicians, who pay an annual tribute of five hundred talents to the king; next to them live the Armenians, abounding in cattle; and last of all the Matienians, bordering on the province of Cissia, and the flowery banks of the Choaspes **, containing the superb city of Susa, and the invaluable treasury of Darius. This immense space is filled by well-inhabited countries, intersected by excellent roads, and supplied at proper distances with convenient places of refreshment and accommodation, even for a great army. Cleomenes having patiently listened to the verbose description of the Milesian, answered him with Laconic brevity, "In three days I will decide concerning the propriety of your demand". At the expiration of that time, Aristagoras failed not to repair to the place appointed, where he was

* Otherwise called the Eulæus, as above, p. 353.

** Herodot. *ibid.*

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C H A P. soon met by the Spartan king, who asked him, In
VIII. how many days they might march to Susa? Here
 the usual prudence of Aristagoras forsook him; for
 he ought not to have told the true distance, says
 Herodotus, if he had wished to engage the Spartans
 to accompany him. But he replied unguardedly,
 That travelling at the rate of about eighteen miles
 a day, they might reach Susa in three months.
 Upon this Cleomenes exclaimed with indignation,
 "Milesian stranger, you must be gone from Sparta
 before the setting of the sun; for you have made a
 very inauspicious and a very dangerous proposal,
 in advising the Spartans to undertake a journey of
 three months from the Grecian sea." With this
 severe reprimand he left Aristagoras, and imme-
 diately returned home. The artful Milesian, how-
 ever, was not to be disconcerted by a first refusal.
 According to the custom of ancient times, when men
 endeavoured to paint to the eye the feelings of the
 heart, he clothed himself in the garment of a sup-
 pliant, and sought protection in the house of Cleo-
 menes. Having obtained the favor of a third
 audience, he attempted to effect by money what
 he could not accomplish by argument. But he
 found it as difficult to bribe, as it had been to per-
 suade, the Spartan; and although he tempted him
 with the offer of above five thousand pounds (an
 immense sum in Greece in those days), it was im-
 possible to render Cleomenes propitious to his de-
 sign".

His over-
 tures re-
 jected
 there.

⁴² Herodot. l. v. c. li.

Aristagoras, thus ungenerously dismissed from Sparta, had recourse to the Athenians, from whom he had reason to expect a more favorable reception. Athens was the mother-country of the Ionians, who formed the greatest and most distinguished portion of the Asiatic Greeks. The Athenians, as a maritime state, had always maintained a closer connexion than the Spartans with their distant colonies; and as they possessed, for that early age, a very considerable naval strength, they were not averse to a distant expedition. Besides these reasons, which at all times must have had no small influence on their councils, the present situation of their republic was peculiarly favorable to the cause of Aristagoras. The free form of government, gradually introduced by the progressive spirit of liberty, had been defined by the laws of Solon, and confirmed by the unanimous approbation of the whole people. The public assembly, consisting of all citizens who had attained the age of manhood, was invested with the executive, as well as the legislative powers of government. The nine archons were rather the ministers, than, as their name denotes, the governors of the republic. The senate, consisting first of four, and afterwards of five, hundred members, was constituted by lot, the most popular mode of appointment. The court of the Areopagus, originally intrusted with the criminal jurisdiction, assumed an extensive power in regulating the behaviour and manners of the citizens. It consisted only of such magistrates as had discharged with approbation the duties of their

C H A P.

VIII.

He applies
to Athens.

Constitu-
tion of that
republic,
as regu-
lated by
Solon.
Olymp.
xlv. 3.
A. C. 594.

C H A P. VIII. respective offices. The members were named for life; and as, from the nature of the institution, they were persons of a mature age, of an extensive experience, and who having already attained the aim, had seen the vanity of ambition, their characters admirably fitted them for restraining the impetuous passions of the multitude, and for stemming the torrent of popular frenzy. Such was the government "enjoyed by the Athenians, which they fondly regarded as the most perfect of all human institutions, and which was peculiarly endeared to them at present, by the recent recovery of freedom, after a long, though, in general, not a cruel tyranny.

Usurpation
of Pisistratus.
Olymp.
1. 3.
A. C. 578.

The danger of tyranny is an evil necessarily attending every democratical republic, in which, as there is not a proper separation between the legislative and executive powers, the assembly must often intrust to one man those functions of government, which the collective body of the people are sometimes unable, and always ill qualified to exercise; and in which, therefore, the splendor of wealth may dazzle, the charms of eloquence may seduce, and the combined power of policy and prowess may

"I forbear treating fully of the Athenian government and laws, until the establishment of what was called the Athenian empire. During more than sixty years, that republic maintained dominion over many hundred cities and colonies. The fate of all these, as well as the measures of independent and hostile states, depended on the proceedings of the Athenians. Then, and not till then, a thorough acquaintance with the internal constitution and state of Athens will become necessary for explaining the historical transactions which we shall have occasion to record.

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intimidate and subdue the unsteady minds of the ignorant vulgar. The fame of his Olympic victories could not procure for Cylon "the sovereignty of Athens; and it is probable that many other unsuccessful candidates had aspired at this high object of ambition, before the arts and eloquence of Pisistratus, who, though born an Athenian citizen, was descended of the blood of ancient kings, obtained possession of the dangerous prize, which proved fatal to his family.

What his enterprising ability had acquired, his firmness, his wisdom, and his moderation" enabled him long to maintain. So completely was his authority established, that on his death the government descended, as a private inheritance, to his son. Resentment of a personal injury "delivered the Athenians from the mild tyranny" of Hipparchus; though his murderers, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, were afterwards celebrated by the Athenians, not as the avengers of a private quarrel, but as the restorers of public freedom". His

C H A
VIII.

Expulsion
of Hip-
parchus.
Olymp.
lxvii. 3.
A. C. 510.

⁴⁴ Thucyd. l. i. c. cxxvi. Plut. in Solon.

⁴⁵ Plato in Hipparch. Herodot. Thucyd. l. 20. Aristot. Polit. l. v. c. xii.

⁴⁶ In this circumstance Plato agrees with Thucydides, whose account of the transaction differs widely from that of most other ancient writers. Thucyd. l. vi.

⁴⁷ Plato, p. 234. The orators Andocides and Isocrates agree with the philosopher. Meursius has made a careful collection of all the passages relating to the Pisistratidæ, in his Pisistratus.

⁴⁸ Αἰὲν σφῶν κλέος ἔσται καὶ αἰὲν

Φίλτατος Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων

Ὅτι τὸν τυραννὸν κτείνεται

Ἰσχυρομὲς τ' Ἀθῆνας ἐποιμασάτων.

ALCEUS.

C H A P. brother Hippias succeeding to the throne, treated his countrymen with a degree of severity which they had not hitherto experienced : his person and his government became alike odious ; he was expelled, by the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, and the general indignation of an injured people, after his family had, with various interruptions, governed Athens sixty-eight years.

A. C. 578
— 510.

Rapid suc-
cess of the
Athenians
after the
re-establish-
ment of
demo-
cracy.

A. C. 509
— 504.

The power of Athens was great in ancient times ; but it became incomparably greater after the re-establishment of democracy ". So advantageous to the powers of the human mind is the enjoyment of liberty, even in its least perfect form, that in a few years after the expulsion of Hippias, the Athenians acquired an ascendant in Greece, which was fatal to their enemies, painful to their rivals, and even dangerous to themselves. They chastised the insolence of the islanders of Eubœa and Ægina, who contended with them in naval power ; and humbled the pride of Thebes, which rivalled them in military glory. Favored, as they fondly believed, by the protection of their tutelary Minerva, and animated as they strongly felt, by the possession of an equal freedom, they adorned their

" Your glory shall last for ever, most beloved Harmodius and Aristogeiton, because you slew the tyrant, and procured equal laws for Athens "

" This observation, which is literally translated, has weight, from such an old and honest historian as Herodotus. His words are still stronger in another passage : *Δηλοι δὲ ὕ κατὰ ἐν μόνον ἄλλα πανταχὴ ἢ ἰσχυρία ὡς ἐστὶ χρεῖμα σπυδαίου, εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τυραννεύομεν, ὡδαμῶν τῶν σφῆας περιουμένων ἡσυχῇ αἰμύνεας, ἀπαλλοχθέντες δὲ τυραννῶν, μακρῶ πρώτοι εὐγενέτο.* Herodot. l. v. c. lxxviii.

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capital with the richest spoils of their vanquished enemies. Their influence soon extended over the northern parts of Greece; and the fame of their power, still greater than their power itself, alarmed the fears and jealousy of the Peloponnesians. The Spartans, in particular, who had assisted them in restoring the democracy, now perceived the error of which they had been guilty, in promoting the greatness of an ambitious rival. In order to prevent " the dangerous consequences of their folly, they summoned to a congress all their allies

C H A P.
VIII.

Jealousy
of the Pe-
loponne-
sians.

* Besides this principal reason, the Spartans, and particularly their king Cleomenes, had private grounds for quarrel with the Athenians. The Alcæonidæ, a powerful family, and rivals of the Pisistratidæ, had been banished Athens during the usurpation of the latter. Having repeatedly tried, without success, to return by force, they at length had recourse to stratagem. The temple of Delphi having been destroyed by fire, they contracted with the Amphictyons for rebuilding it; and instead of employing Poræ stone, agreeably to their contract, they built the whole front of Parian marble. This generosity gained them the good-will of the Amphictyons; bribery procured them the favor of the Pythia, or rather of the directors of the oracle; and the Lacedæmonians were commanded by Apollo to deliver Athens from tyrants. This was effected by Cleomenes, who, upon discovering the fraud, was moved with great resentment against Clisithenes, the principal of the Alcæonidæ, by whom he and his country had been so shamefully deceived. He therefore united with Isagoras, the rival of Clisithenes. The latter, together with his partisans, were again banished from Athens. But the Athenians perceiving it to be the intention of the prevailing faction to establish an oligarchy, flew to arms. Cleomenes and Isagoras took refuge in the citadel. On the third day they surrendered on capitulation. The Lacedæmonians were allowed to retire in safety. Isagoras was banished; many of his partisans executed; and the Alcæonidæ, headed by Clisithenes, again returned in triumph. From this time democracy, in the strict sense of the word, continued, with short interruptions, to prevail in Athens. Herodot. l. v. c. lxx. et seq. Thucyd. l. vi. c. lxxiii.

C H A P. in Peloponnesus, that their united wisdom might
VIII. concert proper measures for resisting, ere it was
too late, the encroachments of the Athenians,
A. C. 504. which threatened the liberties of all Greece. Their
allies readily obeyed the welcome summons, and
the deputies of the several states having assembled
in the Spartan forum, eagerly listened to the
speakers appointed to explain the intentions of that
republic. The Lacedæmonian orators acknowledged
the mistaken policy of their country, in expelling
from Athens the family of Pisistratus, and deliver-
ing the government of that city into the hands of
a most ungrateful populace, who had since treated
them with much indignity. "But why (they
proceeded) should we relate private injuries? Have
they not insulted all their neighbours? Does not
their pride daily increase with their power? and is
there not reason to dread, that their growing
ambition may endanger, and at length destroy,
the public safety? In order to prevent this evil,
we have recalled Hippias from banishment. And
let us, therefore, by our united efforts, reinstate
the son of Pisistratus in that power and authority
of which we most injudiciously deprived him."

Their de-
sign of re-
storing
Hippias
proves
abortive.

The speech of the Lacedæmonians produced not
the intended effect. The Peloponnesians, however
jealous of the Athenian greatness, were still more
jealous of the power of tyrants; and many of
them, who had experienced the haughtiness of
Sparta, were not dissatisfied with beholding a rival
to that republic in the northern division of Greece.
The other deputies expressed their dissent by silent

disapprobation; but Soficles, the Corinthian, declared his sentiments at great length, in a speech which alike marks the manly character of the age, and the youthful vigor of Grecian eloquence. "Then surely, Lacedæmonians, will the heavens sink below the earth, and the earth rise sublime in the air; men will inhabit the depths of the sea, and fishes will take possession of the land, when you, formerly the bulwarks of liberty, shall demolish the popular governments of Greece, and establish tyrannies in their room, than which nothing can be more unjust, or more pernicious." After this pompous exordium, the Corinthian proceeded to describe and exaggerate the calamities which his own countrymen had suffered from the usurpation of Cypselus, and his son Periander. Having related, at great length, the proud, cruel, and despotic actions of those princes, "Such," added he, "are the genuine fruits of absolute power; but I adjure you by the Grecian gods! attempt not to re-establish it in Athens. The Corinthians were seized with astonishment, when they heard that you had sent for Hippias; I myself was amazed at beholding him in this assembly; yet we never suspected that you purposed to restore him, in triumph, to his much-injured city. If you still persist in this fatal resolution, know that the Corinthians disavow all part in a design equally unjust and impious". The other deputies listened with pleasure to the boldness of Soficles, who

C H A P.
VIII.

²¹ Herodot. l. v. c. xcii.

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C H A P. expressed the sentiments which they themselves felt, but which their respect for the Lacedæmonians obliged them to conceal. Hippias alone opposed the general voice of the assembly, attesting the same gods which his opponent had invoked, and prophesying, that at some future time the Corinthians would repent their present conduct and regret their cruel injustice to the son of Pisistratus, when their own citizens, as well as the rest of Greece, should fatally experience the dangerous ambition of Athens. This remonstrance, which was so fully justified in the sequel, produced no immediate effect in the assembly, the Lacedæmonians finally yielded to the general request of their confederates, and abstained from their intended innovation in the government of a Grecian city.

Artaphernes commands the Athenians to reinstate Hippias.
Olymp.
lxxix. 4.
A. C. 501.

The dethroned prince, finding his cause universally abandoned by the Greeks, sought the protection of Artaphernes, the Persian governor of Sardis. Having acquired the confidence of this magistrate, he represented to him the insolence, ingratitude, and perfidy of his countrymen, and the severest reproaches with which he loaded their character, gained ready belief with the Persian. The Athenians, who were informed of these intrigues, sent ambassadors to Sardis, in order to counteract them: but the resolution of Artaphernes was already taken; and he told the ambassadors, that if they consulted their safety, and would avoid the resentment of Persia, they must reinstate Hippias in the throne of his father. His answer had been

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been reported to the Athenians, and the assembly had finally resolved to oppose the power of the greatest empire upon earth, rather than admit within their walls the declared enemy of their liberties²².

C H A P.
VIII.

Precisely at this juncture Aristagoras arrived at Athens, explained the revolt of the Asiatic Greeks from the government of Artaphernes, and solicited the assistance of the Athenians, in defending their own colonies against the oppressive violence of the common foe. Many arguments were not necessary to make the people of Athens adopt a measure which gratified their own passions. The eloquent Milesian, however, described the wealth and extent of Persia, the grandeur and populousness of its cities, and, above all, the slothful effeminacy and pusillanimous weakness of their inhabitants, who, unable to support the ponderous shield, or to poize the manly lance, invited, as an easy prey, the victorious arms of a more warlike invader. The speech of Aristagoras was well fitted to excite the ambition and avarice of Athens. The assembly immediately decreed that assistance should be sent to Ionia. Twenty ships were fitted out with all convenient speed, which, reinforced by five more belonging to Eretria, a town of Eubœa, rendezvoused in the harbour of Miletus²³.

Aristagoras arrives in Athens. Olymp. lxx. 1. A. C. 500.

The Athenians send twenty ships to assist their colonies.

Aristagoras spent not long time in his embassy to the other states of Greece, and soon met his Athenian allies at the place appointed. It was here

Measures of the confederates. Olymp. lxx. 1. A. C. 500.

²² Herodot. *ibid.* c. xvi.

²³ Herodot. l. v. c. xcvi.

C H A P. determined, that while the commander in chief
VIII. regulated the civil affairs of the Ionians, his brother Charopinus should conduct a military expedition against the wealthy capital of Lydia. The Athenians, desirous of testifying their resentment against the common enemy, and still more desirous of plunder, eagerly engaged in this undertaking. The united fleets left the harbour of Miletus, and sailed to Ephesus, where the troops were disembarked; and, in three days, accomplishing a journey of seventy miles, appeared before the walls of Sardis. The Persian governor little expected such a visit; his soldiers were not prepared to take the field; and the extensive walls of the city could not be defended, on all sides, against the besiegers. Artaphernes, therefore, contented himself with defending the citadel; while the Greeks, without opposition, entered Sardis, in order to plunder the accumulated wealth of that ancient capital. But an accident prevented them from reaping the fruits of their success. The resentment of a rapacious soldier, disappointed of his prey, set fire to the house of a Lydian, situate on the skirts of the town, which consisted, for the most part, of very combustible materials, the houses being all roofed, and many of them walled with cane; a mode of building doubly dangerous in that adust climate. The flames readily communicated from one house to another; and, in a short time, the whole circumference of the place was surrounded with a wall of fire. Sardis was built in the Grecian, not

They take
and burn
Sardis.

in the eastern fashion⁵⁴, having, on the banks of the Pactolus, which intersected the town, a spacious square, which commonly served for the market-place⁵⁵. Thither the Persians, driven from the extremities, betook themselves for refuge against the fury of the flames.

Arms formed part of the dress of Barbarians⁵⁶, and the Persians, who had assembled in the square without any intention of making defence, discovered their own strength to be more than sufficient to resist the enemy. Meanwhile the flames of Sardis brought the inhabitants from all parts of Lydia to their assistance. The Greeks were attacked, repelled, obliged to abandon their booty; and it was not without much difficulty that they effected their escape. Their retreat from Sardis was still more rapid than their march thither. It then appeared, that the taking and burning of the Lydian capital was no more than a stroke of military address, which succeeded, because unforeseen, and of which the Greeks had not sufficient strength to avail themselves. The enemy collecting their whole force, pursued them to Ephesus, and defeated them with great slaughter, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the Athenians. The Eubœan auxiliaries also behaved with uncommon spirit, headed by their countryman Eualcides, whose Olympic victories had been highly extolled.

Ar
fea
the
tre

⁵⁴ We have already observed, that the Persians had not any Forum, or place of public resort.

⁵⁵ Herodot. l. v. c. ci. et seq.

⁵⁶ Thucyd. id. proem.

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C H A P. in the verses of Simonides, and whose death on this occasion was long and deeply regretted.

VIII.

Subse-
quent con-
duct of the
confede-
rates.

Vigorous
measures
of the Per-
sians for
crushing
the rebel-
lion.

Bad fortune is commonly attended with dissensions in a confederate army. The allies threw the blame on each other, and the Athenians returned home in disgust, determined no longer to endanger " themselves for the sake of men who employed so little wisdom or valor in their own defence. The Ionians, though deserted by their allies, and defeated by the enemy at land, carried on the war vigorously by sea. Sailing northwards, they reduced Byzantium, and all the neighbouring cities on the Hellespont, or Propontis. Their fleet then directed its course to Caria, and having become master of the most considerable portion of that coast, defeated the Phœnicians off the isle of Cyprus. The military success of the Persians engaged them, on the other hand, to prosecute the war by land; and their subsequent operations discovered such a degree of prudence and courage, as they seem never to have exerted on any future occasion. In order the more speedily to quash the hopes of the insurgents, they formed their numerous army into three divisions, allotting to each its particular department. After these separate brigades had reduced the smaller cities of the Eolians, Dorians, and Ionians, the three great branches of the Hellenic race, it was concerted, that they should re-assemble in one body, to attack Miletus, which was regarded as the centre of rebellion; and

⁵⁷ Herodot. *ibid.*

which, though properly an Ionic city, was considered, on account of its great strength and importance, rather as the metropolis of the whole country, than as the capital of a particular province. This plan, so judiciously concerted, was carried into execution by three sons-in-law of Darius, Hymeas, Daurises, and Otanes; the first of whom reduced the Eolian cities; the second conquered the Dorians, as well as the other inhabitants of Caria⁵⁸, while Otanes, assisted by the counsels and bravery of Artaphernes, overran the Ionic coast, burning and destroying all before him. The miserable natives were put to the sword, or dragged into captivity; the more fortunate escaped these calamities, by flying to their ships, or taking refuge within the lofty walls of Miletus⁵⁹.

The time now approached for attacking that place, which, as its harbour commanded the coast, it was necessary to invest by sea and land. We might, on this occasion, expect to find Aristagoras, the prime mover of the rebellion, displaying the fertile resources of his genius; but before Miletus was besieged, Aristagoras was no more. The perfidious Ionian, who had persuaded, not only his own countrymen, but all the Asiatic, and many of the European Greeks, that the public safety

C. H. A. P.
VIII,

They be-
siege Mi-
letus.
Olymp.
lxxi. 3.
A. C. 494.

Arista-
goras flies!
to Thrace;

⁵⁸ After the conquest seemed complete, Daurises was surprised and slain by Heraclides, a general of the Carians. But this disaster had no effect on the general fortune of the war. Herod. l. v. c. cvi.

⁵⁹ Herodot. l. v. c. cvi. cvii. et seq.

C H A P. VIII. was the sole object of his concern, had never probably any other end in view but the success of his own selfish designs. When Cymé and Clazomené, two neighbouring towns of Ionia, had surrendered to the Persians, he thought it time to provide, by a speedy retreat, for his personal safety; and abandoning, in its greatest need, a country which he had involved in all the calamities of war, he fled, with his numerous partisans, to an obscure corner of Thrace, situated beyond the reach, both of the Persians, from whom he had revolted, and of the Grecians, whom he had betrayed. But while he endeavoured to secure his establishment there, he provoked, by his cruelty, the despair of the natives, and, together with the companions of his perfidy, perished miserably by the hands of those fierce Barbarians, who thus revenged what happened to be, for once, the common cause of Greece and Persia^{**}.

is slain there.

The intrigues of Histæus.

About this time Histæus, the Milesian, the kinsman and friend of Aristagoras, arrived from Susa, commissioned by Darius to direct, by his experienced wisdom and perfect knowledge of the country, the valor and activity of the Persian generals. The birth, the education, the manners of this singular man, together with the strong partiality of every Greek in favor of his native land, might have afforded good reason to the Persian king to suspect his fidelity: he indeed suspected it; but the artful address, the warm pro-

^{**} Herodot. l. v. c. cxxiv. cxxv. cxxvi.

. fessions, the subtle insinuation of Histæus, easily overcame every prejudice which his situation and character made it natural to conceive against him. He was sent to assist the army of Darius, his benefactor, in crushing the Grecian rebellion; but his real intention was to take upon himself the conduct of that rebellion, and to raise his own greatness on the ruins of the Persian power. As he passed to the coast of Asia Minor, his intrigues produced a conspiracy at Sardis, which, being discovered by the vigilance of Artaphernes, ended in the destruction of his accomplices. Histæus made a seasonable retreat to the Ionian shore⁶¹, where he hoped to be received with open arms by his ancient friends. But the Milesians, remembering his former tyranny, and the recent baseness of his nephew Aristagoras, shut their gates against him. He sought admission into Chios, but without better success. The Lesbians, with much difficulty, lent him eight vessels, which he employed against the enemy in the Euxine; but he was taken by the Persians, and crucified at Sardis, having performed nothing sufficient to change the fortune of a war, which had been undertaken by his advice, and fomented by his ambition⁶².

C H A P.
 VIII.

His death.

Meanwhile the Persian fleet and army surrounded the walls of Miletus. We are not informed of the exact number of their land forces, which, consisting of all the united garrisons in those parts, must have greatly exceeded any strength which the much

The Siege
 of Miletus
 continued.

⁶¹ Herodot. l. vi. c. ii. et seq.

⁶² Herodot. *ibid.*

C H A P. VIII. exhausted Greeks could bring into the field. Their fleet, composed of Phœnicians, Cilicians, and Egyptians, amounted to six hundred sail; besides a considerable naval force belonging to the isle of Cyprus, which, having co-operated during one year with the Ionian insurgents, had recently submitted to Darius. In order to deliberate concerning the means of opposing this mighty armament, the Grecians assembled in the Panionian council, where it was unanimously resolved, that no attempt should be made to resist the Persians by land: the citizens of Miletus alone were exhorted to defend their walls to the last extremity, under the conduct of Pythagoras, a person of great rank and eminence in that republic. While every effort should be exerted for maintaining this strong hold of Ionia, it was determined that the Grecian fleet, the last and only hope of the nation, should assemble at the small island of Ladé, lying off the harbour of Miletus, and offer battle to that of the Persians⁶¹. When all their forces were collected at the appointed rendezvous, they amounted to three hundred and fifty-three ships, which, containing, each at a medium, a complement of above two hundred men, made the whole amount to a number sufficiently respectable, and which, had they all remained firm and unanimous in the common cause, might, perhaps, have still rendered them victorious. Such, at least, was the opinion of the Persian commanders, who, when informed of the

The Grecians determine to defend it to the last extremity;

and to oppose the enemy by sea.

⁶¹ Herodot. l. vi. c. vi. et seq.

strength of the Grecian fleet, despaired of conquering it by open force, and endeavoured to effect by policy, what they could not accomplish by valor. Calling together the Ionian tyrants, who, after being expelled their dominions by Aristagoras, had taken refuge with the Medes, and actually followed the standard of Darius, they represented to those banished princes, that now was the time to show their attachment to the service of the great king. For this purpose they were instructed, each of them, to persuade, by message or a personal interview, the subjects whom he had formerly commanded, to desert the Grecian confederacy; to acquaint them, that if they complied with this proposal, their houses and temples should be spared, while those of their more obstinate allies would be destroyed by the flames; that their republics should be treated with great lenity, and even received into favor, while their countrymen who resisted, would inevitably be reduced into servitude; their youth disgraced by castration; their virgins transported to Bactria, to satisfy the lust of Barbarians; and their country, which contained every thing once dear to them, their temples, their statues, their oracles, and the tombs of their ancestors, bestowed on some more deserving and less rebellious people.

These insidious representations, however, produced not any immediate effect. Each community, believing that they alone were solicited to abandon the common cause, scorned, on account of their private advantage, to desert the general interest of

O. H. A. P.

VIII.

The Persians attempt to dissuade them,

without immediate effect.

BOOK VIII. **CHAPTER VIII.** the confederacy, and next day they called a council of war, to consider of the means proper, not for appeasing the wrath, but for resisting the arms, of the Persians.

The advice
of Diony-
sius the
Phocæan.

In this council, where no distinction of persons prevailed, every individual had full liberty to propose his opinion. That of Dionysius, a Phocæan, met with the approbation of the assembly. "Our fortunes," said he, "O Ionians! stand on a needle's point. We must either vindicate our liberty, or suffer the ignominious punishment of fugitive slaves. If we refuse present labor and danger, we shall be exposed to eternal disgrace; but the toils of a few days will be compensated by a life of freedom, of glory, and of happiness. Submit, therefore, to my direction, and I will pledge my life, that, if the gods declare not against us, the enemy will either decline the engagement, or, engaging, be shamefully defeated." The Greeks, consenting to submit to the discipline of Dionysius, he, every day; arranged the fleet in three divisions: towards the east extended the right wing, consisting of eight ships of the Milesians, twelve belonging to Priené, and three, which formed the whole strength of the small republic of Myus. The centre consisted of an hundred prime sailors, furnished by the Chians, seventy from Lesbos, and a few ships, sent by the little cities of Erythræa, Phocæa, and Teios. The Samians alone, with sixty sail, formed the left wing to the westward.

In ancient times the success of a naval engagement principally depended on the activity of the rowers, and the skill of the pilots, whose object it always was to dart, with great violence, the sharp beak or prow of their own ships, against the sides of the enemy. Sometimes at one stroke, more frequently by repeated assaults, while they themselves, with wonderful dexterity, eluded such a shock, they shattered or sunk the vessel of their opponents. By their continual exercise in navigation, the Greeks had acquired such proficiency in managing their galleys, that their movement depending, not on the external impulse of the wind, but on the active principle within, resembled the rapid motion of a fish in its native element. Constant practice, however, was necessary to maintain this superiority, and still more to preserve their bodies in a capacity for labor, which, on account of the softness of the climate and the heat of the season, were ready to melt away in sloth and debility. The prudent Phocæan, therefore, commanded them often to change their stations, habituating the sailors to the labor of the oar, and the restraints of discipline, which he assured them would, by habit, become easy and agreeable. For seven days they cheerfully obeyed his commands: but, at length, the warmth of the season rendered their exertions too great for their strength. Dis tempers broke out in the fleet. The Greeks, always averse to every shadow of absolute authority, complained at first in secret murmurs, and afterwards in licentious clamors, of the intolerable

C H A P.

VIII.

His regulations observed for a while;

but discontinued.

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C H A P. hardships to which they were exposed by the severity of an insolent Phocæan, who, though he brought only three ships to the common defence, had assumed an arbitrary direction in all their affairs. Governed by these sentiments, they refused any longer to obey his commands, landed on the shore of Ladé, formed a camp in the island, and, sitting under the shade of their tents, disdained the useful labors to which they had hitherto submitted.

VIII.
The
Greeks
defeated in
a sea-fight

The Samians, who saw and dreaded the consequence of this general disorder, privately accepted the proposal which had been made them by the Persians. Their perfidy brought destruction on the common cause; for in the engagement, which followed soon after, they hoisted sail and deserted the line. The Lesbians followed their example. Among those, however, who obtained signal honor, by adhering to the cause of Greece, were eleven captains of Samian vessels, who detested the treachery of their companions, and despised the signs of their admirals; on which account they were rewarded, at their return, by the community of Samos, with a pillar and inscription, transmitting their names, with immortal renown, to posterity. But of all the Greeks, the Chians acquired greatest glory on that memorable day: notwithstanding their inferior strength, they defended themselves to the last extremity, and rendered the victory late and dear to the Persians. The naval defeat was soon followed by the taking of Miletus, which surrendered in the sixth year

Miletus
taken.

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from the commencement of the revolt. The Persians made good the threats which they had denounced against the obstinacy of their enemies. Samos alone, at the price of its perfidy, obtained the safety of its houses and temples. Those of all the other communities were burnt to the ground. The women and children were dragged into captivity. Such of the Milesian citizens as escaped not by flight, were either put to the sword, or carried into the heart of Asia, and finally settled in the territory of Ampé, near the mouth of the Tygris. In other places, men of a timid or melancholy complexion continued to brood over the ruins of their ancient seats. The more enterprising failed to Greece, to the coast of Italy and Sicily, and to the Greek colonies in Africa. Probably not a few betook themselves to piracy, among whom was Dionysius the Phocæan, who plundered the Tuscan and Carthaginian vessels, always sparing the Grecian. The Persian fleet wintered at Miletus, and next spring subdued the islands of Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos. Thus were the Asiatic Greeks conquered for the third time, once by the Lydians, and twice by the Persians.

But notwithstanding these repeated shocks, which subjected the inhabitants of Ionia to such dreadful calamities, that delightful country soon recovered its ancient populousness and splendor. The Persian government, having sufficiently punished the rebellion, began gradually to relent. The Ionians

C H A P.

VIII.

Olymp.
lxxi. 3.
A. C. 494.
Dispersion
of the
Greeks,
and defo-
lation of
their coun-
try.

Ionia be-
gins to
flourish
under the
Persian
govern-
ment.

* Herodot. l. vi. c. xxxi. et seq.

- C H A P.** became an object of care and protection to Darius.
- VIII.** Useful regulations were made for maintaining the public peace, as well as for securing the lives and properties of individuals. The face of the country began once more to smile; the cities, being built of slight materials, were easily repaired, while the exuberant fertility of the soil, the attractive beauties of the prospect, the charms of the climate, and the convenience of the harbours (an advantage of which the Persians knew not to avail themselves), speedily collected the Greeks into their ancient habitations. Even those places which had been deserted or destroyed, emerged from the gloom of desolation, and assumed the cheerful appearance of industrious activity. And such was the attachment of the Greeks to their native land, and such their ambition to adorn it, that the labor of a few years repaired the destructive ravages of the Barbarians.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME





